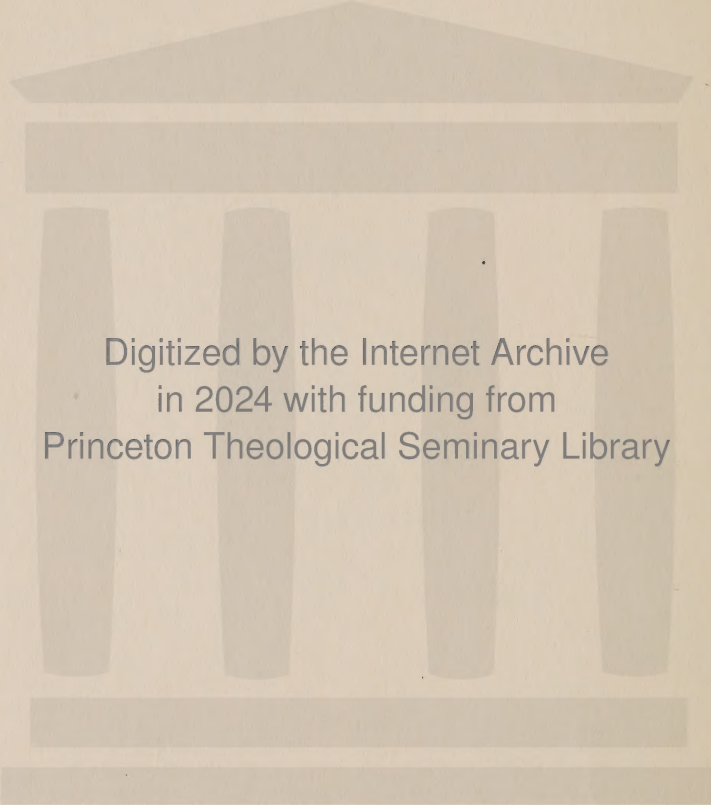


BX7150

N3705

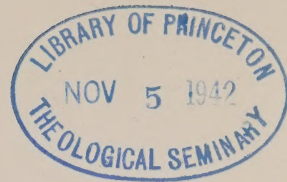
M6



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024 with funding from
Princeton Theological Seminary Library



THE UNITED CHURCH



HISTORY
of
THE UNITED CHURCH
OF NEW HAVEN

By
✓
Mary Hewitt Mitchell, Ph.D.

*Written in Commemoration
of the
Two Hundredth Anniversary
1742 - 1942*

PUBLISHED BY
THE UNITED CHURCH
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT
1942

COPYRIGHT 1942
BY
THE UNITED CHURCH

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
BY THE LANCASTER PRESS, INC., LANCASTER, PA.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First acknowledgment should be made to the members of the United Church who permitted unrestricted access to all records of every kind, and complete freedom in the use made of them. Many have contributed pamphlets, pictures, and miscellaneous material to the historical collections which the church is making. It is unfortunately impossible to mention every one by name. In the actual preparation of the history, Miss Rose M. Munger gave valuable assistance by collecting information about the missionaries connected with the church. She also read part of the manuscript; Miss Harriette P. Marsh listened to part; my husband examined it all and survived its preparation. All gave excellent advice; none is in any way responsible for the many shortcomings of which I am conscious.

Thanks are also due the Committee on Publication, Mrs. Robert E. Peck, Mr. Walter O. Filley, and Mr. Carlton T. Bishop, chairman. To the latter I am especially grateful for the many hours he has spent giving expert assistance and painstaking care in reading the proof.

MARY H. MITCHELL.

May, 1942.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
INTRODUCTION	vii
Chapter I. THE ECCLESIASTICAL SYSTEM	1
Chapter II. FORMATION OF THE WHITE HAVEN CHURCH	9
Chapter III. DIVISION AND REUNION	24
Chapter IV. THE THIRD CHURCH AND THE SECOND UNION	34
Chapter V. CHANGES IN CHURCH LIFE	47
Chapter VI. FORMATION OF CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS	56
Chapter VII. TRAINING OF THE YOUNG	70
Chapter VIII. MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES AND INTERESTS OF THE CHURCH	83
Chapter IX. THE TEMPERANCE QUESTION AND SLAV- ERY	94
Chapter X. THE CHURCH AS A WORKING BODY	100
Chapter XI. CHURCH FINANCES	113
Chapter XII. THE MEETING-HOUSES	125
Chapter XIII. OTHER CHURCH PROPERTY	139
Chapter XIV. FIRST MINISTERS OF THE WHITE HAVEN CHURCH	143
Chapter XV. THE MINISTRY OF JONATHAN EDWARDS, JR.	151
Chapter XVI. MINISTERS OF THE FAIR HAVEN CHURCH	166

	PAGE
Chapter XVII. MINISTERS OF THE THIRD AND NORTH CHURCHES	171
Chapter XVIII. THE FIRST MINISTER OF THE UNITED CHURCH—DR. MUNGER	193
Chapter XIX. MR. HAYNES AND MR. DENISON	204
Chapter XX. THE FOUNDING FATHERS	215
Chapter XXI. MEN OF THE NORTH AND THIRD CHURCHES	235
Chapter XXII. MEN OF THE UNITED CHURCH	255
Chapter XXIII. A FREE CHURCH	266
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE	270
APPENDIX	272
INDEX	281

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED CHURCH

INTRODUCTION

The two hundred years covered by this study saw the Congregational churches of Connecticut free themselves in management, support, and doctrine. In 1742 they were "established churches," dependent mainly on taxes laid by the authority of the colony, and subject in many ways to its control. To-day, independent of civil authority, maintained by voluntary contributions, and preaching no dogma, they carry on a self-supporting existence and enjoy freedom of action and belief. They have made good the statement in the constitution of the newly formed "Church of Christ in the United Societies of White Haven and Fair Haven" (1796) that "this church is free and independent."

The history of the United Church shows specifically how one Congregational church of Connecticut made the adjustments necessitated by changes, both external and internal. Perhaps it is typical, perhaps not. Having gone through phases unknown at its beginning, and outgrown to-day, it obviously must be a different institution from that of 1742. The evolution has not always been an easy process, and it has not always been untouched by politics.

From the point of view of external events, the history of the church is divided into three periods. The years 1742-1796 saw foundation, division, and reunion, with the church in its early years engaged in a struggle for existence against the hostility of authorities, both civil and religious, and later itself divided over differences in theology. The outcome has proved to be a step towards liberalism.

In the second and longer period (1796-1884) the problems were those presented by the reunion of divided parts, by the disestablishment of the Congregational church, and by the necessity of adaptation to a different conception of the functions of the church and its place in the world. Its early years, like those of the first period, were marked by revivals, those of the first period ending in dissension and theological controversies, those of the second giving way to the theory of Christian growth.

The third period opened with another union of churches, and is one of further expansion along lines laid down in the preceding

years, with still greater realization of the social and municipal obligations of the church, in a sense other than that of the union of church and state. The organizations which were developed illustrate the change of emphasis in its aim and function. Interest has moved more and more from theological discussions and concern with the future life to the present world and the church's opportunities for humanitarian service. It happens that the years 1742, 1796, and 1884 correspond roughly with changes in theological thinking. In 1742 the Great Awakening caused dissatisfaction with current preaching, dividing the people into Old and New Lights, and introducing a period of great theological discussion. About 1796 Connecticut was beginning a second period of revivals, with Old Divinity giving way to New, while in 1884 a new liberalism was replacing what had become the old.

From the point of view of the development of church life, the evolution of the church as an institution, its history separates itself more clearly into two divisions, with the line practically the same (1796) as the beginning of the second chronological period.

Since a church is part of the life of the people, a social as well as a religious institution, composed of congregation as well as minister, some account of its members will be given, the kind of men and women they were, and their part in its evolution. Was the church representative of the people? How did they want it to serve? What things roused them to action?

A second volume obviously would be required to show the various organizations of a large church adequately—Sunday School, Young People's Societies, Men's Clubs, Women's Societies—all the multitude of its activities, development, adaptation to changing conditions, and in many cases abandonment. The church in this respect, like an individual, has experimented with one method and then another, and it will continue to experiment. Its problem to-day is fundamentally the same as in 1742, but with wider education of the people in the pews, bringing a different attitude towards life; with the development of lay organizations to interest them, such as the Y. M. C. A., what is the place of the church in the modern world? The answer to these questions will be given in 2042.

So far as possible the story of the United Church will be told in the words of the church itself as written in the pages of its records.

CHAPTER I

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SYSTEM

The United Church in a very real sense is the product of the slow growth of time. Started in the colonial period and having had several beginnings, the process of its complete development took nearly one hundred fifty years. It is, historically, a complex organization, made up of three churches, brought together in two unions. The life of the White Haven Church, the eldest unit, covered the years 1742 to 1796, that of the Fair Haven Church, an off-shoot from it, from 1771 to 1796. The body resulting from their union, long known as the North Church, lasted from 1796 to 1884, when the Third Church, started in 1826, joined with it to form the present United Church. Filling out this bare outline are the story of three groups, with divergent beliefs, independent organizations and separate houses of worship, and their welding into one truly united church.

The founders of the White Haven Church spent nearly eighteen years in bringing about its establishment as a fully organized body. Involved in the process were the Consociation of Churches, the Association of Ministers, the County Court and the General Assembly of the colony. This long and complicated action was due to the fact that in Connecticut the Congregational Church had become established, with certain rights, privileges, and restrictions. The result was that politics and political bodies as well as religion and ecclesiastical organizations were involved.

According to the theory of the first half of the eighteenth century, the limits of a Congregational parish were those of the town, and when a parish, like a town, was divided, the new parts were given definite bounds set by the legislature. And, since the law provided for the support of the church by taxation, it was logical for this reason also that the consent and cooperation of civil authorities should be required in ecclesiastical changes. Thus, if there was dissension between a church and its pastor, as in this case, or if there were disputes in other matters, civil authorities were naturally called on.

But the unity of parishioners in one church had begun to be broken before the opening of the eighteenth century. People of beliefs and denominations other than Congregational were coming into Connecticut, and among them some whose rights must be regarded. Since the colony belonged to Great Britain, her institutions must be respected and her laws obeyed, and it was neither wise nor possible to ignore the rights of members of her Established Church. In 1708, accordingly, an Act of Toleration was passed by the Connecticut legislature, confirming the English Toleration Act of William and Mary. By its provisions "sober dissenters" (in this case members of the Church of England) were given the right to worship as they wished, without incurring a penalty for not attending the established church of Connecticut. Their freedom was still limited, for they must be connected with some lawful congregation and must still pay the tax for the support of the Congregational Church.

In 1727 a further step was taken in their favor by exempting them from paying the ecclesiastical tax, if they were supporting a church of their own, and by recognizing the Church of England as a legal society. Two years later Quakers and Baptists were included in the provisions of the acts and in the following year Congregational and Presbyterian churches other than the established kind were allowed and protected by law. But unless a person made arrangements to belong to another denomination, he was considered a Congregationalist and was taxed for the support of that church.

Even in the established Congregational churches themselves there were variations in church management or "defects in discipline" due to the very nature of Congregationalism with its independent local churches. To remedy this, Articles of Administration, known as the Saybrook Platform, were adopted September, 1708, by a Council of Churches called together by the General Assembly of the colony. The object of the Platform was to bring about greater uniformity in church management and, since a second leading principle of Congregationalism was fellowship, to provide means for closer connection among individual churches.

To carry out these purposes the Articles provided for the organization of an ecclesiastical system. The churches of each county, or part of a county, were to form a district group or stand-

ing council called the Consociation; the ministers were to be joined in a similar group, the Association. These councils were to be consulted in matters that could not be settled by a local church itself. The Platform was ratified by the General Assembly and was accepted by many churches, though they had not been consulted before it was passed by the legislature. But as it was capable of either strict or loose interpretation, like the Constitution of the United States, some churches regarded its decisions as advisory rather than binding. Many resented the control attempted by "ye Consociation, our High Court of Inquisition," and it was even said that "Lord Bishop is more palatable with many than Lord Consociation." The advice and decisions of the Consociations and Associations, however, carried great weight.

This machinery proved to be an influence, as designed, for fellowship, order and uniformity, and the government of the colony, which considered itself the head of the church, could work more effectively with it than with many independent organizations. But churches so organized and connected with the government might become open to the suspicion of being used for political ends. No other groups were so organized, and church leaders, men of character and influence, were also leaders in civil life. As other denominations grew in numbers and strength they were increasingly jealous of the "Standing Order," as Congregationalists came to be called. When party politics developed after the Revolution and people divided into Federalists and Tolerationists, Congregational ministers and deacons were accused of having become a political machine.

The close connection between civil and ecclesiastical bodies under the Saybrook Platform was based on the belief that public worship and public support of the church was the duty of every citizen. On the one hand civil order was considered dependent on religious support and uniformity, and on the other it was believed that church stability and harmony should be guaranteed by the temporal power. So Governor Talcott wrote the Bishop of London in 1726: "The law of this colony is such that . . . all within the precincts of the town shall be obliged to pay their parts in an equal proportion to their estates. . . . Under this security, all our Towns and ecclesiastical societies are supplied with orthodox ministers." ¹ It may be said that the amount paid by an in-

¹ Quoted in the History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut, E. E. Beardsley, vol. I, p. 58.

dividual was based on the one hand by the need of the church, and on the other by the value of his property as shown by the grand list of the town, minus any amount he might succeed in getting "abated."

These two measures, the Toleration Act, which gave exemptions, and the Saybrook Platform which in effect tightened the bonds of church and state, seem contradictory. But though the Toleration Act was actually a step towards liberalism, it was not so designed. It was a practical measure, necessitated by the connection with Great Britain, and the authorities showed their real feelings by strengthening the unity of their own church at the same time.

Such a system, bringing each church under the control of both ecclesiastical and civil authorities, and implying uniformity of belief, could be successful only if every one wished to support the church and was satisfied with the conduct of religious affairs. But with the passing of the first generation of settlers had gone much of the early enthusiasm for religion and the desire to support the church as well as much of the uniformity of belief. The ministry in general had declined and was less well educated than its predecessors who had been trained in English universities. Many were open to the charge of being "contentedly unsuccessful" in their work, or of preaching "Lack-a-day-sical sermons made up of the laziness of the week." To drift was a real temptation to men who felt sure of their position when once settled over a church.

The parishioners, which in a large sense meant all the inhabitants of the area, fell into groups. Besides the enrolled members of the church and the legal members of the society, many people in the parish had no connection with it other than paying their taxes and being technically parishioners.

In the church itself were two classes of members—those in full communion and those by the Half Way Covenant, the former by profession, the latter by a kind of inherited associate membership. Born into the church, they were baptized as infants because one or both parents were members. As they grew up and led moral and upright lives, came to understand the doctrines and were ready to profess belief in their main points, they might "own" or "renew," that is, recognize and acknowledge, the covenant made by their parents at the time of baptism. They promised at least formal

observance of religious duties, and the church recognized them as members under its watch and care and subject to its discipline.² Unless they went further, professed a special religious experience and made public expression of such "change of heart," they were not members in "full communion." They had definite connection with the church and could have their children baptized, but they could neither vote in church meetings nor partake of the Lord's Supper. As citizens with the required qualifications for the suffrage, they were entitled to vote in society meetings.

Obvious disadvantages of the custom were, on the part of the church, the admission of persons who were lukewarm in their religious life, and on the part of these members the feeling of being discriminated against in the community. The dual membership involved a further difficulty. If children could not be baptized on their parents' account, as it was called, could some other member of the family, such as a grand-parent, who was a communicant secure the baptism? This was not a mere academic question, for on worldly grounds, if no other, parents desired for their children the respectability of baptism and connection with the church. In order to obtain this, a member of the White Haven congregation asked to have a child by a former wife (neither of whose parents nor she herself being communicants) baptized on account of his present wife, a member in full communion. This request was refused, though the fact that the step-mother was probably the one to train the child, might seem to give some logical basis for granting it.

Both the White Haven and Fair Haven Churches adopted the Half Way Covenant, the former in 1760, when it was "voted and determined by a great majority: That the Infants of such as own the Covenant (being civil and moral persons) shall be admitted to Baptism." So in 1764 Zadock Allen and his wife Desire were admitted to the church on this basis and had their "infant seed" baptized. Five years later Desire was taken into full communion. The Fair Haven Church voted in March, 1773, "to admit persons to baptism on owning the covenant." On one occasion when children were baptized on their mother's account

² . . . "a baptized person, but not in full communion, having been guilty of the sin of fornication, this day [August 3rd, 1771] made a public confession thereof, which was accepted by the church."—White Haven Church Records, vol. I, p. 61.

the minister "preached on these words In Act 10; 17: Who can forbid water, these should not be baptized?" Jonathan Edwards, Jr., minister of the White Haven Church, opposed the practice, and after he came the church declared "that to own the covenant of grace implies grace in the heart, which no unregenerate person hath. But that if a person is possessed of true grace, he ought not only to own the covenant of grace and have his child baptized, but also to come into full communion. Therefore, on the whole, after much deliberation they came into the vote" that none ought to be admitted for baptism for themselves or children "but those who make a credible Profession of real Christianity."

The Half Way Covenant membership had been developed about the middle of the 17th century for two reasons: to satisfy a demand for less strictness and austerity in the church and more liberalism in admitting members and to maintain a hold on those who were slipping away, with consequent threat of decreased membership. It was logical also in a church supported by taxation, but since it was not universally adopted, it became a constant source of trouble.

Finally, in the parish was another group, the members of the church in full communion, those who as adults, besides owning or signing the covenant and subscribing to the articles of faith, made public declaration of a definite spiritual experience, or conversion.³ They were the "visible saints," the fully converted members, the "brethren," having the right to vote in both church and society meetings and to participate in all the sacraments. The "sisters," though visible saints, were not audible, for they seem not to have had the right to vote or speak in meetings.

The distinction between the two kinds of members seems to have been made obvious at the time of communion. Apparently it was the custom at the celebration of the Lord's Supper for all but members in full communion to leave the meeting. In 1781 President Stiles, after the sermon in the College Chapel, ordered the whole congregation to stay, and then administered communion, the first time, he said, that it had been done in this way. He seems to have had an idea of the value of publicity, for he added that

³ The Fair Haven Church voted against making the public relation of experience a condition of communion in 1773. The White Haven Church did the same in 1780.

he hoped other than church members would be "impressed with the Holy Ordinance."

Besides having a dual membership, the church had a dual organization—the church and the society. The former was a purely religious institution, whose only function was to care for the spiritual welfare of the parish. By its side was the society to look out for its temporal concerns. The society was a larger group than the church, made up not only of members in full communion and according to the Half Way Covenant, but of all in the town who had the right of suffrage. It determined the amount of the minister's salary and settlement (the money or land given at the time of his coming), arranged for his house and lot and wood supply, laid and collected the tax for his support and that of the church, and managed the church property. This consisted of the meeting-house, of land set aside to the church at the settlement of the town, and of land and money given it later.

Originally such duties had been performed by the voters in town meeting, or through a committee appointed by it for "ordering the prudentials" of the church. Some distinction seems to have been kept between meetings for church and town business. But as population spread and outlying districts came to have their own churches, an ecclesiastical society of each was devised which assumed these duties. It was only at the beginning of the 18th century that this development was taking place, as shown by the separation of church and town records. Those of the church of New Haven as a body separate from the town began July 1, 1714.

The church and the society must unite in the choice of a minister. Action of the society might precede that of the church, because in new settlements a minister might have been chosen by the town and arrangements made for his support before the church was organized, and having started that way, the society which succeeded the town, continued to act first. The White Haven Church, however, was organized some time before the society and in calling the first minister, Mr. Curtiss, the society passed a vote "correspondent to what the church had sometime since done." Similarly, in 1772 the Fair Haven Society, after hearing that the church wished to call Mr. Mather, agreed "to choose a committee to join with the committee of the church."

It is obvious that the division into church and society might present practical difficulties. Since every voter in town was a

parishioner in the sense that it was with the one church that he was connected, and for which he must pay the ecclesiastical tax, it followed, as the First Church ⁴ sadly observed, that these persons, even if hostile, were nevertheless not "disenabled to vote in society matters." For example, many who signed the memorials and petitions in the controversy leading to the establishment of the White Haven Church were not members of the First Church.

This was the situation in New Haven in 1742. Although its ideals were unity and uniformity, an organization of the character thus described, with such a membership, such legal rights, privileges, and restrictions, and such dangers of formalism and worldliness presented possibilities for trouble. At best, as New Haven had learned in its earliest days, it was hard to carry out in practice the theory, however beautiful, of church and state working together, with every one ready to support religion and all worshipping with satisfaction under one minister.

⁴ It is incorrect to speak of it at this date as the "First" Church, but for the sake of convenience the term will be used.

CHAPTER II

FORMATION OF THE WHITE HAVEN CHURCH

The Rev. James Pierpont, minister of the church in New Haven, died in 1714. Two candidates for his position were considered, Mr. Samuel Cooke and Mr. Joseph Noyes. In July 1715, by a vote of eighty-six to forty-five, Mr. Noyes was called to the pastorate on probation and a year later was ordained. The disappointment of Mr. Cooke's supporters was not keen enough to cause trouble, and the church for twenty years "enjoyed much peace, dwelt together in love and good order." It was said, however, of Mr. Timothy Jones, later a leading member of the White Haven Church, that "After the death of Mr. Pierpont he never was blessed with a Ministry to his evangelical Taste."

In 1735 a short-lived revival roused the church and added many new members. Soon a greater movement reached New Haven that was spreading all over the country, the Great Awakening, the "religious commotion," or the Great Stir, a picturesquely appropriate name sometimes given it as descriptive of some of the upheavals it caused. Strong and bitter feelings were roused and parties formed of friendly New Lights and hostile Old Lights.

The influence of the revival of 1735 was not great, but in 1740 and 1741 two men visited New Haven and stirred the spirit of the people too profoundly for them to remain satisfied with dozing comfortably in their pews, listening to merely formal or "sedative" preaching such as they had been hearing. First came the famous English evangelist, George Whitefield, who reached New Haven late in October, 1740, leaving on the twenty-sixth, after a stay of three days. He was affectionately welcomed by James Pierpont, son of the former pastor, and next to his brother-in-law, Mr. Noyes, probably the leading man of New Haven. Though visiting ministers were usually entertained by the pastor of the church, Whitefield stayed in the home of Mr. Pierpont, and was a guest there at his second visit in 1745.

He preached five times in Mr. Noyes' church, besides holding personal interviews and expounding evenings at his lodgings.

Great crowds came to hear him, some from a distance of twenty miles or more. Among them were several ministers "with whose pious conversation he was much refreshed." He received courtesies from the college, dining with Rector Clap and the tutors as well as with Mr. Noyes, and was taken to see the college library, one of the sights of the town. He made a most favorable impression on the governor of the colony, then in New Haven for a meeting of the General Assembly, and incidentally collected £40 for his orphanage in Georgia, an early example of a "drive" for charity.

Not quite twenty-six years old, Whitefield, "the Grand Itinerant," was a slender young man with an air of authority, for he had already been preaching more than four years. He was eloquent and explicit in his preaching, or "searchings," as he called it, qualities which dull, middle-aged Mr. Noyes conspicuously lacked and made no effort to cultivate. Whitefield was probably not a better preacher nor a man of greater ability than the leading ministers of Connecticut, and he was afflicted with squint eyes and spoke with a curious Welsh accent, but he moved his hearers profoundly. This was partly because of the nature of his message and partly because, as he preached, he himself became deeply moved, often to tears. In addition, he had a marvellous voice, perfect articulation, and a new dramatic and theatrical style of speaking. Samuel Hopkins, a student at Yale, heard him both in public and private. He "highly approved" of him, but said he offended some, especially young people, because he preached "against mixed dancing and the frolicking of males and females together, which practice was then very common in New England." Hopkins thought the attack justified, but in spite of disapproval of this acknowledged levity, Whitefield said he liked New England exceedingly well.

In February, 1741, there was "a great and general awakening in town and college" and in March New Haven received a visit from another evangelist, one of Whitefield's followers, this time an Irishman, the Rev. Gilbert Tennent of New Jersey. He was older than Whitefield, and was called a Son of Thunder because he tried to frighten people into heaven by the terrifying nature of his preaching. He was in New Haven for a week, and delivered seventeen sermons, occupying Mr. Noyes' pulpit often and preach-

ing two or three times in college, where he converted many, among them young Samuel Hopkins.

The visits of these men stirred the people as the revival of 1735 had not, and resulted in schisms and quarrels as well as conversions. Criticism and abuse of Mr. Noyes was met by hostility to the itinerants, as preachers from outside a parish were called. Seeing their ecclesiastical system threatened, the authorities of church and state branded as disorderly the preaching of men who came uninvited by the settled ministers and attacked the Christianity of those who opposed the revival. So Amos Munson, a young Yale graduate (1738), member of a New Haven family, was reproved by the New Haven Association in May, 1741, as having preached at New Haven "in a manner which we think disorderly and also contrary to the advice and direction of the Rev. Mr. Noyes." In June the 'boisterous and vociferous preaching' of the Rev. Joseph Bellamy, a New Light from Bethlehem, kept the unrest alive and caused confusion and disturbance.

Among others came the Rev. James Davenport from Southold, L. I., great-grandson of the first minister. He was related by marriage to Mr. Noyes and a connection of many leading families of New Haven. He arrived in the following September to attend the commencement exercises at Yale, an occasion when ministers were wont to assemble and hold meetings of their own. Up to this time he had been sane and normal, but in his zeal for the Great Awakening he seems to have completely lost his mental balance and to have become so "tinctured with enthusiasm" as to be temporarily insane. He emphasized one of the least admirable parts of the preaching of Whitefield and Tennent—denouncing as unconverted those ministers who disapproved of their proceedings—and attacked Mr. Noyes in an inexcusably violent and abusive manner. His conduct became so outrageous that Mr. Noyes, acting on the right a minister was considered to have of controlling religious instruction in his parish, took the natural step of forbidding him again to enter his pulpit.

This embargo did not silence Davenport, and he continued his preaching in the open air, apparently on the Green, for in July, 1742, the Rev. Samuel Johnson, Church of England clergyman, in answer to a "chastisement" from the authorities of his church, made the following somewhat undignified and disingenuous answer to the charge that he had been at a dissenting meeting at

New Haven. "On Commencement night, when Davenport was raving among the people there, Mr. Wetmore and I went in the dark, no mortal knowing us but our own company; and stood at the edge of the crowd and heard him rave about five minutes and then went about our business; this I humbly conceive could not be called going to meeting any more than a visit to Bedlam,—for we heard no prayers nor anything that could be called preaching, any more than the ravings of a man distracted."¹

But trouble could not be stopped nor order restored by acts of authority such as excluding "itinerants" from the pulpit of the church. Davenport's visit became the occasion that led "a considerable number of the Brethren . . . being agreaved" to take action. It does not follow that they approved of his violence, but they were compromised for some time by his connection with the troubles in the church, and for a while were called "Mr. Davenport's party." Roused by the preaching of Whitefield, Tennent and the other itinerants, little was needed to bring discontent to a head.

Charges and counter charges, petitions and protests began and committees were appointed. On November 18, 1741, fourteen articles of complaint against Mr. Noyes were drawn up and signed by 112 persons—55 men and 57 women—some of the church and some of the society. They asked to have these complaints heard by the church itself or by a council mutually called to consider them. A month later December 28, 1741, having received no satisfaction, thirty-eight persons, including one woman, presented a memorial at the annual meeting of the First Society. They stated that in "long and sorrowful experience" they had found the preaching of Mr. Noyes unprofitable, and asked that they and others who might wish to join them be allowed "in charity" to draw off and become a distinct society and worship by themselves. They might have taken benefit of the Act of Toleration and become Baptists in name, as many New Lights did, but among them were leading men of New Haven who would not join a "sect," because they wished to remain orthodox Congregationalists under a minister whose preaching they would find profitable. Perhaps they thought of churches in nearby villages that had been set off from the parent church of New Haven. Or they may

¹ Quoted in *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson*, E. E. Beardsley, p. 113.

have been influenced by recent divisions of churches in Hartford and Guilford due to similar dissatisfaction over the choice of a minister.

Instead of answering the charges against Mr. Noyes in a meeting of the church or society, or in a council mutually called, as the dissenters suggested, the minister and his followers advocated an appeal to the Consociation, the body set up by the Saybrook Platform, on the ground that no other council could act in the case. The complainants demurred to this, for that body was unfriendly to the revival as it was taking shape, and was certain to support Mr. Noyes. This political move of the First Church to submit the dispute to an authority favorable to itself was met by the seceders' appeal to law. They immediately raised the question whether the First Church ever had actually adopted the Platform. An examination of the records showed that no such action had ever been taken by the church, though the minister, Mr. Pierpont, had been a leading member of the Saybrook Synod and is said to have drafted the Platform.

Some justification was given the action of the dissatisfied party by the way the church handled the situation. To checkmate the dissenters, a belated effort was made to justify the appeal to the Consociation. On January 25, 1742, the church subscribed formally to the Platform, but at a meeting from which the "aggrieved members" were "secluded." It was claimed that this vote was merely declaratory of what had always been a fact. The unfortunate method of procedure made the uneasy brethren still more aggrieved, for, said they, we were secluded from a meeting which voted in "a different rule of discipline whereby all hopes of a redress of grievances in the Congregational way was frustrated." That this was no vain fear was shown by the fact that the vote adopting the Platform was followed by a complaint against the dissenters to the Consociation of the county. This, the seceders said, meant that the church is "thereby owning a juridicial & decisive authority in the s^d Stated Consociation—contrary to the known principles and practices of s^d Chh Time out of mind."

The progressive steps by which a new organization was formed in the face of the legal situation and against the "united force of Civil and Ecclesiastical power" foreshadowed political actions taken by the colonists in separating from Great Britain. The

seceders were also about to return to a principle of the first days in their own history in New Haven and of Congregationalism everywhere, that a church is formed by the "spontaneous association of the Lord's people for spiritual fellowship."

The next step taken was the presentation of a petition by James Pierpont "and Diverse others of New Haven, to the Number of Sixty Persons" to be allowed to worship by themselves as a body of sober dissenters according to the provisions of the Act of Toleration. This was granted by the County Court on January 29, 1742, four days after the First Church had voted to adopt the Saybrook Platform.

The dissenters held many meetings throughout the winter, and on April 6th a council of ministers came to New Haven to advise the group. Following their advice Mr. Noyes was asked to have the grievances heard at a council mutually called and to consent to a colleague pastor acceptable to the seceders. He was so evasive that an *ex parte* council of ministers gave their sanction, and on May 7th, eighteen men and twenty-five women, subscribing to the confession of faith and covenant, formed this church. Acting as presiding officer of the council was the Rev. Samuel Cooke, formerly of New Haven and unsuccessful candidate for the pastorate of the First Church. He was minister of the church in Stratfield (now Bridgeport) and had become a zealous New Light. His son, Samuel Jr., a prominent man in New Haven, was one of the "uneasy brethren," and it was at his house that the council met. It is an interesting speculation whether this separation would have occurred if Mr. Cooke had become minister in 1715.

The regular Association of Ministers of New Haven County later justified the confidence of the First Church and the fears of the seceders by declaring that the actions of these Separatists, among others, were pernicious and unjustifiable and by condemning Mr. Cooke as "pretendedly gathering a church among the Separatists of New Haven in opposition to the pastor of the church there."

The two local lawyers were members of the First Church, but the seceders represented their action as taken on legal grounds. They stated that the revolutionary and illegal vote of the First Church in adopting the Saybrook Platform led them to act on their "ancient rightful powers and privileges"; that they were putting themselves "into a proper capacity for the enjoyment

thereof upon the ancient footing"; and that they were assuming "a church state of the Gospel, on the antient basis of that [First] Church." Thus the complainants, having started in protest against the preaching of Mr. Noyes, and having been refused what they felt would be a fair consideration of their complaints, were led to form a church for a different reason than their original grievance, viz: that the belated adoption of the Saybrook Platform by the First Church, irregularly done as it was thought with some reason, had left them the true church, re-established or re-instated on the original foundation of their "Primitive Constitution." This argument was considered so good that it was used on subsequent occasions. In 1754 when Isaac Dickerman wished to become a member of the church, and it was desired also that he should continue in the office of deacon as he was in the First Church, it was voted that since he had been chosen deacon before the adoption of the Platform, and since he had objected to that vote, he might act as deacon for this church "on the ancient call and ordination upon renewing his covenant." So, too, members from the same church joining in 1755, 1757, 1759, and 1760, were "re-instated on owning the covenant." Thus Sarah Dorman of the Antient Church "Publicly consented to the said Doctrine of faith Renewed Covenant and by the vote of the Chh. was replaced as a member in full communion in gospel privileges and ordinances."

The church thus formed was known at first by various names—as the Tolerated Church, because it was founded under the provisions of the Act of Toleration; as the Separatist Church, because its members had withdrawn from the established church; and finally, of its own choice, as the White Haven Church. The origin of this name is still one of the minor mysteries of history, and bids fair to remain so. Later, after its house of worship was built, it was usually called the Blue Meeting, because of the color of its building. One early document referred to the East Society, because the building was located on the east side of the Green.

In a paragraph written later on New Lights, and appropriately entitled "Eye Salve," Ezra Stiles said that churches like this whose ministers were ordained by New Light, but regularly ordained, ministers, were "in Essence true Chhs." They should be acknowledged as sister churches, minor New Light churches by

the side of major Old Light churches. Unfortunately this point of view was inconceivable in the First Church in 1742.

All this time there was excitement and confusion in New Haven, for religion was a vital matter, and an important institution, the church, and many leading persons in town were involved. Students in college were active, some to the point of neglecting their studies. Early in February, 1742, Rector Clap was sufficiently disturbed to lecture to them against the New Lights as they were "reproachingly called." John Cleaveland, a student, wrote, "I think he said that they have taken oath against the religion of the country." Such a serious charge was based on the prevailing theory of an established church, that church and state must support each other.

Mr. Clap's objections may have come also from another source, from seeing New Light leaders stirring up the students. The same John Cleaveland wrote in his diary, March 1st, that "Mr. Bellamy and Mr. Pierpont came to visit us in College. We signed a letter to Mr. Tennent." In an earlier entry he said that he and some other students, one of whom later became deacon in the White Haven Church, discussed "removing out of College, if they could see the way clear, and could have some ministers on their side." And under another date he related that Mr. Noyes, Mr. Pierpont, and Mr. Robbins, New Light minister from Branford, had a heated conference with Mr. Clap in the College Library.

Old Light ministers and leaders exerted their influence with the General Assembly to stop New Light activities as far as possible in view of the provisions of the Act of Toleration. In May, 1743, the General Assembly, largely under the influence of New Haven Old Lights, it is thought, passed an "Act for Regulating Abuses." What affected the White Haven group was the provision that ministers were not to be permitted to preach in a parish without the consent of the settled pastor. Persons coming from outside Connecticut to do so would be arrested as vagrants and expelled from the colony, with the later thrifty additional penalty that they must pay the expenses of their expulsion. As a result, members of the White Haven Church, though able to worship by themselves, could not have a minister without the consent of Mr. Noyes. Nevertheless, on October 20, 1743, James Pierpont, speaking for himself and twenty-seven other signers, presented a petition to the County Court asking for permission to

settle a minister without being "Deamed a breaker of the laws of the Colony." The petition was refused, and no further attempt was made for some time. Sympathetic ministers from neighboring towns helped as they could, in the face of the difficulties caused by the restrictive laws. But the records of the church say it was "in very broken circumstances a number of years, sometimes having preaching, sometimes being destitute." It must be said that Old Light ministers were not moved merely by hostility and a spirit of persecution, but were sincerely troubled and perplexed as to their duty in a difficult situation.

At first, services of the White Haven Church were held in private houses. Several places are mentioned, and especially the home of Timothy Jones on the northwest corner of State and Court Streets. Early in 1743 a meeting house was started to accommodate an increasing number of worshippers, for opposition did not break them up nor stop their growth. This effort too was opposed by the First Church, which, after voting that such proceedings were "very grievous" to them, "hurtful to the public peace of s^d society" and unlawful, and that the building would be a public nuisance, requested them "forthwith to desist their work." An appeal to the General Assembly was threatened if they refused. The more violent members went further and tried to prevent erection of the building by cutting the timbers at night and watchmen had to be appointed to protect its construction. The amount of work done on the building in 1764 indicates that it must have been small and perhaps not particularly sightly.

In 1749 a society or "body politick" seemed necessary to manage the temporal affairs or prudentials. The Toleration Act did not provide for the incorporation of sober dissenters into ecclesiastical societies, and in any case no incorporation could be expected from a legislature in which the Old Lights were still in a majority. Legally, the dissenters were allowed only the right of separate worship, but they found a way out of the difficulty. After several conferences "to discourse upon this affair," a final meeting was held on February 27, 1749. "Articles of Agreement made and Solemnly Confirmed by and between us whose Names are hereunto subscribed" were read over several times, considered and signed. They provided "that untill by y^e blessing of God, Diversity of sentiments in Religion be happily removed & the Countenance of the Civil Authority turned towards us to our Lawfull

establishment we will proceed in the management of all affairs of s^a Society by this our own voluntary Compact, Consideration and Agreement."

The account of the "doings" in the records when the agreement was signed shows that it was regarded as a serious occasion. After the adoption of the Agreement it was in order to organize and elect officers, "to which proposall the people assented signifying withall that they apprehended it very Expedient to recommend this new made Society to God In Solemn prayer Intreating that he would own & bless, that he would alwais be in y^e midst of it & enable it alwais to act for God's Glory. And M^r Pierpont was desired to be our mouth to God in prayer which being Ended those persons who had Signed & Executed the foregoing Instrument of Agreement & Confederation whereby they were by their own Voluntary Act & Deed form'd & made into a Society proceeded to Organize the same with officers agreeable to y^e s^a Instrument." Mr. Pierpont was "nominated as a Suitable person for a Clark for s^a Society" and was elected.

This action, of forming a society, was like that taken by the colonists in setting up their new governments when separation from Great Britain had automatically abolished the existing ones. It was done on the same grounds of a voluntary compact as the basis of government. The White Haven Society thus formed was incorporated by the legislature ten years later, October, 1759. It then numbered 179, of whom 13 were women as against the 147 in the First Society, of whom 15 were women.

Perhaps the reason for making the agreement at this time was that the church had its first resident minister, Mr. John Curtiss. He was called either in defiance of the law or because the church was given confidence by the growing political power of New Lights. Though not settled, he was here for about two years. In 1751, when the repressive laws had been repealed, the first settled minister, Mr. Samuel Bird, was installed. He made a condition of his acceptance that the church should make an effort at peace with the First Church for there was still criticism of the seceders. A somewhat stiff-necked letter of apology was sent, but not answered, and the suggestion of the General Assembly "in its tender regard for all concerned" that a mutual council should be called also failed, for though committees of the two churches met and agreed to a council, they could not agree what to lay before

it. Mr. Noyes said he did not like arbitration and it was impossible to pin him down to a definite agreement to consult his church until it was too late. The effort at peace having been made, however, Mr. Bird accepted the call and was installed.

All these years the New Lights were paying taxes to the First Church, besides supporting their own. It is said that some went to jail for refusing to pay the tax.¹ But this was not all to the advantage of the First Church, for the tax-paying seceders were still its legal parishioners and could attend its society meetings. Their presence there was anomalous in itself, irritating to the First Church and tempting to the New Lights, especially as they began to equal or outnumber the Old Lights. Then politics came in and two groups were formed, known as Mr. Bird's party and Mr. Noyes' party. The result was struggle for power and acts of obstruction, regrettable but natural results of the situation. The First Church complained that it was extremely difficult to accomplish what was necessary in their meetings for the dissenters would not only "disconcert" their measures but would "ever most naturally be Interested and prompted to build up and Support themselves although it should be upon the Ruins of the other remaining body." It was now the turn of the First Church to find that "Our Congregation is under miserable circumstances."

The records of the White Haven Church give a certain justification for its attitude of obstruction. In January, 1753, the First Church planned to build a new meeting house. Naturally the dissenters were not interested in contributing to this as well as to the minister's salary, and in May they voted to send an agent, Samuel Cook, Jr., to the General Assembly to oppose the request for permission to lay a tax for the building. For, said they, we "may be involved in unsupportable charges." The result was that the building was paid for by private subscriptions instead of by a tax on parishioners. Consequently when the church was divided the dissenters could make no successful claim to a share in it on the ground that they had helped pay for it.

From the beginning of the schism unsuccessful efforts had been made to secure Mr. Noyes' consent to a colleague pastor who would be acceptable to the dissenters, a curious and seemingly unworkable but favorite device of the time in case of difficulties. When he did assent in 1758, the White Haven people objected,

¹ History of the North Church, S. W. S. Dutton, p. 49.

and without them it was impossible to get the necessary legal society vote for the ordination of the candidate. The First Church nevertheless proceeded in the affair. The dissenters then tried to keep the ordaining council out of the meeting-house, but, wrote one of the council, "go we did & met wth no manner of Lett or molestation & y^e most beautiful procession it was that I ever beheld at an ordination. . . . There is a great whistness & Silence among y^m of the blue house since y^e ordination." ² As a matter of fact the colleague, Mr. Chauncey Whittelsey, a gentleman of "Urbanity & Social Manners," proved to be both a help to his own church and a force for peace between the two churches.

As numbers and power veered from side to side, the New Lights shifted their policy and their arguments; with growing strength, they abandoned the efforts to separate and desired to stay in the First Church and try to control its affairs. At one time (1755), in answer to a petition to the General Assembly by the First Church, Samuel Cooke, Jr., agent for the White Haven Society, declared that since the First Church was against the old doctrines, the Bird party, in order to prevent the spread of heresies, would rather stay in the church and support two ministers than have a separate organization. In a petition to the General Assembly against separation they charged that members of Mr. Noyes' congregation were Arminians and were trying to influence teaching in the college. This, it was said, "will Corrupt the College and Spread their errors Swift through the Country, overthrow the present Happy Ecclesiastical Constitution, Root out the Religion of our Fathers and carry us backward towards Rome. Under these Views and to prevent this Mischief and Fate we have chosen to bear the Burthen to pay to y^e Support of the Standing ministry in addition to y^e Support of our Own and had rather doe it to y^e Day of our Death if it may be a means to prevent the spreading of Error and Heresy in y^e Churches of Christ in our Land." ³

A little later the Bird party had become numerous enough to pass the following series of votes in First Society meetings: that a petition that had been made to the General Assembly for separation be withdrawn: that Mr. Bird was the minister, not Mr. Noyes; and that they would no longer support Mr. Noyes. The

² Extracts from the Itineraries and Other Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles, p. 571.

³ In Ecclesiastical Documents, vol. XI, p. 89 in Conn. State Library.

last votes rested on the claim that theirs was the original church. They said that they had no contract with Mr. Noyes, and in further support of this claim, that he had not preached in their meeting-house, the designated place of worship. This attempt to completely turn the tables failed, for Mr. Noyes, a good fighter, appealed to the law, brought suit for the payment of his salary as the regularly settled minister, and was given judgment by the Superior Court. The White Haven people thereupon were said to join with some "male contents" from Wallingford to try another method. In view of the increasing number of New Lights in the colony they "united to attempt a mighty change in government," by voting men into office who were New Light in sympathy. Among those put forward were two men from the White Haven Society. Something like modern campaigning was described by an adversary. "To effect the scheme, nominations were drawn up and emissaries sent out with them from Dan to Beersheba, to spread groundless reports to the prejudice of the Gov^r &c and to stir up the Disaffected . . . but," the writer added triumphantly, "we beat them."⁴

It was suspected that Rector Clap among other clergymen was mixed up secretly in this scheme. He had become less hostile to the New Lights, and was reported at this time to be undergoing a "political-religious conversion" and to be "a little be-fogged in the Atmosphere of New Lightism." The process of changing his opinions had taken time and was indicated in many ways. It is said that one reason for this "conversion" was the impression made on him by the sincerity and faithfulness of the minister of the White Haven Church, Mr. Bird. The college was also helped financially about this time by contributions from the minister and some of the wealthy members of that church. Timothy Jones, for example, who had two sons in college, gave £100, one of the largest gifts. For a long time the New Lights could not believe Rector Clap was sincere.

Another example of the mixture of politics and religion somewhat later (1767) was described with indignant wonder by Dr. Benjamin Gale of Killingworth in a letter to President Stiles. "Coll Hubbard [member of the First Church] wanted but two votes of a choice for deputy but N Light St- Act & Satan hindered. Strange it is that such a Town as New Haven should be so

⁴ Stiles, *Itineraries*, p. 582.

infatuated by such an empty thing as Dⁿ Lyman [member of White Haven Church] when Coll Hubbard, Darling, Ingersol & a Number of others are among the living."

But however much New Lights were gaining in numbers and influence, they were not able to turn Mr. Noyes out of his pulpit and substitute their own minister. Nor was Rector Clap able to have him removed from the Yale Corporation for lack of orthodoxy. Had this attempt succeeded, it would have been regarded by older members of the White Haven Church as an act of poetic justice, for the Rev. Samuel Cooke had been practically forced out of the same body in 1746 for New Light activities, among them assistance in forming the White Haven Church.

The success of Mr. Noyes in his appeal to the courts on the salary question, the popularity of his colleague, Mr. Whittelsey, public opinion and the influence of the legislature, combined with the inability of either side to control the other, brought them to agree to separation in 1759. Questions of property seem to have delayed this agreement.

Legal separation of the two groups, each claiming, as has been seen, to be the original church, was brought about in October, 1759, when the General Assembly of the colony ended the controversy by making the White Haven group a completely organized and recognized church and society. The other body was given the title "First Church." Final steps were taken at a meeting in the Court House at New Haven, where three committees assembled—one from the General Assembly, and one from each of the two churches. A committee from the legislature divided the property which had belonged to the First Society before the secession, and decided that the seceding group had no claim to the property of the church—to such things, that is, as the communion silver. At last, in 1761, Jared Eliot, trustee of Yale, was able to write, "It seems to be still times with our New Lights."

Other details remained to be settled. Public schools in Connecticut were under the management of the ecclesiastical societies. Provision was made that each society should have the use of the school house quarterly each year, unless they should agree otherwise. Town funds for the school were to be divided. Also held in common were the town bier, the care of the burying ground on the Green, and the fence around it. In 1774 a by-law was passed by the town that one selectman must be chosen from each society.

Under the circumstances it was impossible to fix the parochial bounds in the old geographical way. Next door neighbors and even members of the same families went to different "meetings." It was accordingly provided that the inhabitants of New Haven should choose to which church they would belong, the choice resulting in 147 for Mr. Noyes and 179 for Mr. Bird. It was provided also that persons who made no choice should be assigned to one church or the other by a committee appointed by the General Assembly. Twenty were thus immediately added to the White Haven Church. Similarly regulated choice was to be made by young people on reaching the age of twenty-one and by newcomers to town.

So ended the "parish way," or as a writer in the Great Awakening called it "parish despotism." The First Church was divided, as a later catalogue said, "according to elective affinity" or, as President Stiles expressed it, the churches became "promiscuous." In place of the old geographical parish, with its ideals of unity and uniformity, was substituted the "poll parish," based on persons and personal choice. Putting it another way, it was a recognition, although forced, of the rights of the minority and of people to think and act for themselves. From this time on there could be two or more Congregational churches legally and peaceably existing in the same geographical area.

It is not surprising that, in the course of such a protracted struggle, quibbles, obstructionism, and shifting of the grounds of argument appeared. But although the controversy introduced lower motives and acts, something more than politics held people together in opposition to the minister and the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. The deep-seated forces that kept men and women united for nearly eighteen years until separation was finally accomplished were honorable. To adapt the words of a later pastor, Mr. Dutton, these forces were the love of ecclesiastical liberty, as against the strict consociation of the Saybrook Platform; the love of evangelical doctrine, as preached by the New Lights; and the love of revivals of religion, as against the dry formalities of Mr. Noyes.

A series of regulations by the General Assembly made it easier for people to worship where they wished, culminating in the grant of complete religious liberty by the new constitution of 1818, which ended the union of church and state.

CHAPTER III

DIVISION AND REUNION

Peace reigned for only ten years in the new parish which had been formed with so much trouble. Dissension was roused in 1769 over the choice of a minister, and the White Haven Church saw a group of its members leave, as they themselves had done, to form another new church. The division, however, lasted only a few years, and they came together again in 1796.

Mr. Bird, the first settled minister of the White Haven Church, proved so popular that it increased greatly in numbers and became the largest and wealthiest in New Haven. But in December, 1767, he requested his dismissal. This was granted and in January, 1769, Jonathan Edwards, Jr., was installed, a most natural and seemingly happy choice. Not only was he related to many families in New Haven, but he was in the revival tradition, both through his father in whose church in Northampton the Great Awakening had started, and through education and training. These auspicious conditions were offset by the fact that his doctrinal views were displeasing to many in the church. A large number voted against his settlement. Though the records stated that in this affair "a Great Deal was s^d on Both Sides," the council found such "Christian temper of Mildness and Moderation" that it installed Mr. Edwards in the belief that he would be able to win over the objectors. It recommended those who were opposed to his installation to exercise the virtues of patience and love and promised that if they still wished to separate after a trial of his talents, they would be allowed to do so.

Unfortunately Mr. Edwards did not have the qualities to please unwilling hearers. To their proposal that the Rev. Mr. Fish of Stonington should become colleague pastor, the White Haven Church "objected and unless Mr. Fish would Preach y^e Same that M^r Edwards did & we would be obliged to like Mr. Edwards half the time it could not be to which we could not Consent and they said we were not agreed in Principles & they would Do nothing further about it." The situation seems not to have been

helped by the continued presence in New Haven of Mr. Bird, for whatever the reason for his retirement, he was here to be reckoned with as a potential leader. There were also men still living who would know how to repeat the actions of 1742 and were ready to do so. On September 4, 1769, six months after the ordination of Mr. Edwards, the aggrieved members voted to separate. A few days later, on the first Sabbath after Commencement, about seventy, mostly heads of families, went off and began to worship by themselves. The whole controversy lasted only from January to September, unlike the long-drawn out struggle of the White Haven Church to become independent. Besides the promise of the council that they might withdraw, the history of that church put it in no position to try indefinitely to hold people in the pews who were dissatisfied with the preaching and doctrine in the pulpit.

In May, 1771, six men, among them some who had been organizers of the White Haven Church and on its first list of members—Samuel Cooke, Jr., John Prout, and Enos Tuttle, for example—with “sundry women,” fifteen in number, including Mrs. Bird, requested dismissal from the White Haven Church. A new body, the Fair Haven Church, “their little or young sister,” as some of the organizing ministers called it, of about a dozen male members, was organized June 2, 1771,¹ less than thirty years after the formation of the White Haven Church. As in the case of that body there is no satisfactory explanation of the choice of name. The only hint is in the combination of two statements made over a hundred years apart. In 1772 President Stiles said, “Most of the Farmers belong to this Society,” and in 1892 a very old lady said she had always heard that the name referred to the people of the village of Fair Haven, who walked barefoot to church, and put on their shoes when they reached the Green.

Following the example of the White Haven Church, and using the same words, an *ex facto* ecclesiastical society was formed by voluntary compact, October 21, 1772. In December, 1773, thirty men petitioned the General Assembly for its incorporation, and the petition was granted the following month.

Worship was held at first in the State House, but on September 19, 1769, permission was received from the Proprietor's Com-

¹ 27 persons reviewed the covenant, and 3 were propounded for communion. Fair Haven Church Records, I, 2.

mittee to erect a building on the Green, a permission that had been denied the White Haven Church. A building committee was soon appointed, the timber was on the spot, and by 1771 the meeting house, though not completed, could be used. It stood approximately on the site of the present United Church.

Efforts were soon begun to secure a pastor, but in general neighboring ministers were hostile and candidates declined to come. Mr. Pomeroy of Hebron, an old New Light friend who had helped organize their church as he had the White Haven Church, preached to them. Among others Mr. Ezra Wheelock, his brother-in-law, and Mr. Joseph Bellamy, "veterans in Separation making," also came to their assistance. In 1773 Mr. Allyn Mather was finally installed. Just as the popular Mr. Bird had increased his church over the dull, conventional preaching of Mr. Noyes, so the number of Mr. Mather's hearers grew in comparison with those who would listen to the metaphysical discourses delivered by Mr. Edwards in the White Haven pulpit. The Fair Haven Church attracted many young people and became the largest of the three bodies.² While Mr. Mather excelled as a pastor and was beloved by his people, his feeble health obliged him to take frequent vacations. Sojourns in warmer climates did not restore him to health and he died at Savannah, Georgia, November, 1784.

Tutors in the college supplied the pulpit and various candidates preached. Two years later, the Rev. Samuel Austin, member of a family long prominent in the White Haven Church, was ordained minister. Since he was a pupil in theology of Mr. Edwards, who preached the ordination sermon, outsiders thought this choice might bring "balmy love & sweet peace to their hearts." But the Half Way Covenant was present as a source of trouble, for on this subject Mr. Austin was true to the theology of his teacher and would only compromise with the belief of the church. Also like his teacher, Mr. Austin held strict views of church discipline. Before long there was dissatisfaction and many wished him to leave. It was said that between one third and one half of the people were opposed to him and it was even rumored that only four or five were in his favor. A committee reported that the church was so far reduced in numbers and property and so

² First Church 900 "hearers," White Haven 800 "hearers," Fair Haven, 950 "hearers." The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, vol. III, p. 14.



The Fair Haven Church

The State House Yale College The First Church
THE NEW HAVEN GREEN, 1790

much in debt that it probably could not continue his salary and he was advised to "improve any opportunity which shall present to engage his services in any other place or manner." At first he preferred to stay at a smaller salary, but on receiving a call to a church in Worcester, he asked for a council of dismission and the request was granted.

After Mr. Austin's departure, tutors in the college again supplied the pulpit, and various clergymen administered the sacraments. Two at least preached as candidates, one of them, curiously enough, the successor of the Rev. Samuel Cooke, at Stratfield. The other, Hendricus Dow, a graduate of Yale, served the church from September, 1790, to April, 1792, when he left a promising career as a minister to become a lawyer. He had meanwhile given a practical example of "balmy love and sweet peace," for he was married by Dr. Dana, the pastor of the First Church, to Miss Gilbert, the daughter of a prominent member of the White Haven Church.

Affairs had come to an equally unsatisfactory state in the White Haven Church. Though its society was as large as any in town, the church had been reduced to eleven male members by the withdrawal of those who formed the Fair Haven Church and it was facing declining attendance. At this time President Stiles wrote in his diary, "Great searchings of heart in the Chhs. Two Chhs in this City tired or wearied out with their Pastors wish for their Dismission." Roger Sherman of the White Haven Church, a friend of Dr. Edwards, in a letter to his son-in-law, asked "whether there is any new difficulty arisen, and how the members stand affected to Dr. Edwards." He said that he hoped society meetings would not be called, as "it would only promote dissension" and he wished "to have cordial harmony restored."

A crisis was reached in 1795. The church owed back salary to the minister, it had other debts, and it was hard to collect the money for its support. Complaints about the situation seem partly at least to have been a face-saving excuse to get rid of the minister, as in the case of Mr. Austin. A society meeting voted that "while we see our worshipping assemblies thinly attended, our youths leaving us and no prospect at present of a better situation, we cannot resolve to struggle any longer against so many discouragements." They felt that the society was "in danger of

dissolution." Mr. Edwards would not resign, however, until a vote had been passed that he was not considered "the guilty cause of the diminution of the society." He probably blamed his difficulties on "the times." It was indeed a time when religion was in a low state everywhere, and in this case a contributing cause was the formation of a church at Whitneyville, which took away some members. The departure of Mr. Edwards ended a pastorate of over a quarter of a century, which had covered half the life time of the church.

With the pastors of both churches removed, the way was open for their reunion after twenty-seven years of separation. Such an event had been in the minds of some members for two or three years. Both churches appointed committees to consider whether they were "disposed to be united." As early as February, 1793, committees from the two had met and voted that it was practicable but it was not immediately brought about. A modification of the whole church situation in New Haven seems to have been under consideration and it was natural that some should have the impossible dream of uniting all three churches, and returning to the situation before 1742.

In October, 1795, the Fair Haven Society wrote the following message to the White Haven Society: "We are of opinion that as complete a Consolidation of our Societies as circumstances will admit, is advisable, and would ultimately prevent animosities and dissensions." After long negotiations the reunion was effected November 27, 1796. According to the settlement the property of each society was kept distinct, as the legal name indicated—"The Church of Christ in the United Societies of White Haven and Fair Haven." This name was used until 1815 when the merging of practically all the property of the two churches in the new building made the long title unnecessary and it was shortened by the legislature to "The Church of Christ in the United Societies." Later it was known as the North Church, from the position of its new building on the Green. Another union, that of the North and Third Churches in 1884, was required to complete the process of forming the present United Church and to give that legal name to the church as well as to the society.

As a judgment on the separations of this period the words of the Rev. Chauncey Whittelsey of the First Church may be

adopted. Though written in 1759 over another matter (disputes concerning the authority of councils and consociations), they are pertinent here. "And so we go at it hammer and Tongs: you know the old Controversies abo^t Liberty and Prerogative must be canvassed once in a Century; and besides, these Commotions, or what we call Disputes and Contentions are, I apprehend, of the same use in the moral State, as Storms are in the Atmosphere or other Commotions in the natural world."

Except for the enforced recognition of minority rights which substituted poll parish for geographical, the church continued to be managed in 1796 much as it had been in 1742. Meetings followed the same pattern; two preaching services on Sunday, morning and afternoon. Once a month, before communion, a sacramental or preparatory lecture was held, generally on Thursday afternoon; near the close of the period, under Dr. Edwards, fortnightly meetings for young people were started at the suggestion of the General Association. Besides the annual meetings, business meetings were called when necessary. They usually occurred quite frequently "in order to keep the meeting alive," and as frequently, especially in the early years, were adjourned without action. They sometimes followed the afternoon services on Sunday, or were held on Sunday evening. Both church and society meetings were often held in private houses, the records occasionally stating that it was too cold in the meeting-house. It is hard to see why the church was too cold for business meetings but not for religious services. Officers and committees were few, and the small amount of extra business was transacted by them unless special committees were appointed to deal with particular questions.

Preaching was still mainly doctrinal, except for sermons given on public occasions such as the opening of the meetings of the General Assembly, and an occasional stirring discourse like that delivered by Dr. Edwards on the slave trade. The religious training of the young was given by parents, by the study of the catechism in the schools, and to some extent by the minister. Singing in the church was beginning to be regularly provided for by the appointment of choristers and arrangements for the training of singers. Marriages were coming to be performed by the minister instead of by a justice as had been customary. Thus, so far

as the individual church was concerned, its organization was simple and its activities, except for the services on Sunday, were few.

Ministers and churches met in councils and in the Consociations and Associations set up by the Saybrook Platform, but the relations among New Haven ministers and churches were naturally strained. In 1760 when Commencement was held in the White Haven meeting-house, the colleague minister of the First Church wrote, "You would have smiled to see Father Noyes in Mr Bird's Pulpit, and me with Mr Daggett in the Deacon's seat. *Tempora mutantur, et nos &c.*" And in 1767 when a somewhat inharmonious convention was held in New Haven, a delegate who was boarding with Mr. Bird reported that he said he would rather be excluded than have the Whittelseys and Danas admitted. Ministers of the older churches regarded themselves as superior to their dissenting brothers as shown in many ways. The funeral procession of Madam Clap (1769), attended by nine ministers, was "the first time in New Haven and even in Connecticut that dissenting ministers walked before the corps."

New Haven churches met together only on some extraordinary occasion, such as the British invasion, a drought, or an epidemic. Union even under such conditions seemed hopeful to President Stiles, and he described enthusiastically a meeting which occurred in June, 1780, when the three congregations assembled in large numbers in the meeting-house of the First Church to pray for rain. The exercises lasted more than two hours, with a fifty-five minute prayer by Mr. Whittelsey, and a "serious and pious sermon" by Mr. Mather. "Devotion, Humility & suppliant Importunity sat visibly on the Aspect of the Assembly." At evening the weather was cloudy and rain fell the next day. About this time (September 1778) meetings of the Association of Ministers, which had been broken up by a controversy over the minister in Wallingford, were resumed. This first meeting of the Association of the County held in New Haven for more than twenty years met at Mr. Mather's.³

By 1782, when Mr. Noyes and Mr. Bird were both gone and Mr. Austin, a pupil of Mr. Edwards, was in the Fair Haven pulpit, the churches became so friendly that an era of good feeling

³ Stiles, Literary Diary, II, 303.

began. After a sermon by Mr. Edwards on "Love and Christian Charity," the White Haven Church voted to exchange with other churches as convenient and to hold its sacramental lecture with the other two churches. They met in one another's buildings in rotation, and exchanged pastors. "Thus there seems to be an Amnesty," wrote President Stiles, "& burying of a long Controversy & Alienation, even of *fourty* years Continuance."

The first meeting was held in the First Church, with Dr. Edwards as preacher. Though he had been in New Haven thirteen or fourteen years, he had never before preached in that meeting-house. The relationship did not go so far that the churches celebrated communion together, and when Dr. Dana became pastor of the First Church the others refused to continue the arrangement, on the ground that he was unsound in doctrine. But animosities had softened, the people wanted to be friendly and in 1793 they united again in the sacramental lectures. It is said that though Dr. Edwards demurred, it was brought about largely through the influence of the singers of the three churches who had been working together.⁴

In their personal relations ministers and people were friendly. After he came to New Haven in 1778, President Stiles pictures the pleasant social life enjoyed in the midst of religious animosities. Courtesies were exchanged among all the ministers and observance of the proprieties and social obligations connected with weddings, funerals, and public occasions. And what minister could refuse an invitation to dine with the president of Yale when the "West India Luxury" of a thirty pound turtle had been "most elegantly dressed"?

Just as one hundred years earlier men had demanded more liberality in admitting members to the church by the Half Way Covenant, so now they wished greater toleration, more fellowship and communion among the churches. The uncompromising attitude of Mr. Edwards, "obstinacy," in President Stiles' phrase, was an important reason for the dissatisfaction of his people with him. Though he preached once in Mr. Dana's pulpit, he would not let Mr. Dana preach in his.

⁴ One curious result was that the funeral of Capt. Thomas Wilmot, a member of the White Haven Church, was held in the First Church, as it was the turn for the sacramental lecture to be held there. Mr. Edwards preached. Stiles, III, 501.

The fifty-four years of the church history just completed are divided into two nearly equal periods. Each era made a contribution to the growth of toleration and liberalism; in both cases due to the members of the churches rather than to the ministers. The first period established the right of the people to separate for their own beliefs; in the second, some people at least came to desire cooperation with members of other churches instead of hostility.

CHAPTER IV

THE THIRD CHURCH AND THE SECOND UNION

Before the United Church assumed its present form, another church, the third and final unit of our organization, had gone through its life history. Again the record is one of division and reunion, again it was marked by devotion to principles under trial, and again it was due to differences of theological beliefs, which in course of time again came to have less significance than other factors. The Third Church was formed in 1826 by persons who left both the North and Center Churches. After more than half a century of existence, it joined with the North Church in 1884, bringing most of its membership to form the present United Church. It had had a checkered history, with some years of prosperity due to the power of one minister. It filled a peculiar place in the religious history of the city, presenting an interesting chapter in the development of religious thought.

The causes of this third separation seem to have been similar to those bringing about the first—a period of religious awakening and the preaching of a group of men. During the years 1820–22 and again in 1825 New Haven was stirred by great revivals. In the sermon preached on the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the church, it was stated that “The formation of our Third Congregational Church, through the blessing of God, was caused by the preaching of Moses Stuart, Nathaniel W. Taylor, Asahel Nettleton, and Lyman Beecher.” Moses Stuart and Nathaniel Taylor were ministers of Center Church, the former from 1806 to 1810, and the latter from 1812 to 1822; Asahel Nettleton was a famous Connecticut evangelist, who visited New Haven at intervals, sometimes staying for a considerable period. Of these four men Taylor was the most important in New Haven religious history. A young and powerful preacher, he left a successful pastorate of Center Church to begin a long and brilliant career as Professor of Doctrinal Theology on the Faculty of the newly formed Yale Divinity School.

In order to understand the history of the Third Church and to appreciate its significance, especially the action with regard to its minister, Mr. Cleaveland, it is necessary to consider the theological situation and the work of Professor Taylor. In the Edwardean succession through his teacher, President Dwight, he was an original and creative thinker of so great power, and made such "improvement" on the teachings of that school as to become leader of what was in effect and name a new school of theological thinking. He modified the doctrines of human responsibility and divine sovereignty by the assertion that man's actions are free, but so determined by the conditions in which he finds himself that it is certain what he will do. Hence, at the same time God is sovereign and aware what man's choice will be and man is dependent, but with the freedom and natural ability to make a right choice if properly roused to action. The motive to which appeal can be made is self-love, which in the highest form is the pursuit of the highest happiness, that is, benevolence and the love of God. Man will not act on that highest motive unless the divine Spirit moves him. Taylor denied that sin is the necessary means to the greatest good. He asserted that it is voluntary disobedience to known law, and that the bias or disposition to sin is not in itself sinful. He said that while sin may exist in a system in which man is not under restraint, such a system, with man's freedom and ability to resist temptation, may be preferable to one in which there is no sin because there is no freedom of action or choice.

Such modifications roused the opposition of conservative thinkers. The ensuing discussions and controversies led to the formation of two schools of thought—Taylorism, New Divinity or New Haven Theology, as the one was variously called, and Tylerism and the teaching of the Institute founded a little later at East Windsor, Connecticut. The Institute taught the doctrine of original sin, of God's absolute control over moral beings, and denied that self-love was the primary cause of all acts or choices.

Professor Taylor was also a great preacher, the princieliest, said Dr. Leonard Bacon, adding that his sermons gave out flashes of electric fire. He was a magnetic teacher. Dr. Munger, who was a student in the Divinity School while Taylor was still teaching, said he "exercises a positive power upon you. He is a genius in theology—an enthusiast, and he makes you feel. Somehow he

plants a truth within a man and it becomes life and power." The second President Dwight said he had a mental enthusiasm, an inspiring force, that imparted itself to other men. This commanding personality was the principal influence behind the formation of the Third Church. It caused twenty-nine persons to repeat the action of the men of 1742 and 1769, and depart from the two Congregational churches of New Haven to set up a new tabernacle according to their own specifications.

The first group that applied for dismissal from the North Church, July 28, 1826, had as spokesman, or at least scribe, one of its older members, Timothy Dwight, a wealthy hardware merchant and insurance agent. Great-great-grandson of Jonathan Edwards the elder, and eldest of the eight sons of President Dwight of Yale College, he seems to have inherited some of the qualities which earned for his father the title "Pope" Dwight. He was drawn to Professor Taylor and his teachings for personal as well as theological reasons, for the latter had been one of his father's students in theology and as his amamuensis had lived in the family for two years. Mr. Dwight had contributed \$5000.00 towards founding the professorship held by Mr. Taylor. He was accompanied to the new church by his wife, Clarissa.

The third signature on the letter asking for dismissal is that of Amos Townsend, Jr., a much younger man, recently appointed second teller in the New Haven Bank, the city's oldest bank, which he served for fifty-four years. He was a small but energetic and business-like man, filled with missionary zeal. He had joined the church after the revival of 1821. Called by a contemporary "that old veteran in everything good," he might also be called "Founder of Churches," since five years later he left the Third Church to become the moving spirit in forming the Missionary Church (now Plymouth), of which he was first deacon. He lived long enough to see the Third Church ended by union with the one which he left in 1826. The Townsend family is connected with the history of the United Church to an unusual extent, having representatives in each of the units of which it is composed. The first one in New Haven, Ebenezer, came in 1739 at the suggestion of William Greenough.¹ His son, Ebenezer Jr., a wealthy merchant and owner of many ships, married the widow

¹ For William Greenough, see p. 231.

of the Rev. Allyn Mather, pastor of the Fair Haven Church. A grandson, Amos, married the daughter of two members of the White Haven Church, Hezekiah and Hannah Beers Howe, who were also ancestors of the Howe and Terry families, later connected with the North Church. A sister of Amos Jr., founder of the Third Church, was the grandmother of Miss Anna Bradley present member of the United Church, while the Townsend name is perpetuated in a fund given in memory of another sister.

The fourth signature to the letter asking for dismissal is that of Simeon Jocelyn, an interesting member of an interesting family. Son of one of Connecticut's leading clock makers and brother of the artist Nathaniel, he was an engraver and map maker when he was not working for the welfare of the colored race. For his zeal in this cause he suffered persecution. He favored the proposal to start a negro college here in 1831, and was almost the only man at a large and heated town meeting to protest against abandoning the plan. He was a leading spirit in the New Haven Anti-Slavery Society and took a prominent part in saving from servitude those picturesque victims of the slave trade, the Amistad captives. Converted in a revival in 1809, he studied divinity and was licensed to preach in 1826. For seven years he was pastor of the colored church in New Haven which he helped found. Both he and Mr. Dwight were active in the new Sunday School movement and in spreading revivals to other towns. Accompanying him to the new church was his wife, Harriet.

Separate and joint committees of the Center and North Churches met to consider the proposed formation of a new church. While not seeing the necessity for it, they had no quarrel as in 1742, and letters of dismissal were soon granted. On August 24 five more persons asked for dismissal, which was given in due form. Two were young men, Charles Bostwick, Jr., son of Deacon Bostwick, and Harvey Bradley, the one a dealer in saddles and harnesses, and the other a brass founder. With them went Isaac Mix, one of the pioneer carriage makers in the city, his wife Mary, and Ellen Dean. The latter, and Charles Bostwick, like Amos Townsend, Jr., were converts of the revival of 1821. The names of Maria, wife of Harvey Bradley and of James, husband of Ellen Dean, appear in the catalogue as members at the time of organization of the church, and Mr. Dean, like Mr. Dwight, soon became deacon. There was therefore no division

of families, as in 1742. Later, Dwight, Bradley and their wives, Charles Bostwick, Jr., and Isaac Mix were among the first members of what is now the Church of the Redeemer.

Nineteen persons left Center Church at the same time, and on September 9, 1826, the twenty-nine were organized into the Third Church. The New Haven newspaper's comment was, "Hartford has three Congregational churches, and New Haven ought to have as many."

With Professor Taylor as preacher the little band began worship in the Lecture Room of Center Church on Orange Street. In 1829 a meeting-house of their own was dedicated, the first of three erected by them. It was located on the corner of Union and Chapel Streets, away from the Green, the traditional location of New Haven churches. The site of this building, together with that of the City Market and the Post Office, neighbors on other corners, have sunk to the level of railroad tracks. In the rear on Union Street was a fire engine house.

The next year, 1830, a pastor was settled, the Rev. Charles A. Boardman. During his pastorate, which Leonard Bacon said was "eminently successful," one hundred seventy one were brought into the church as a result of the great revival of 1831, all but thirty-three by profession of faith. Sixty-eight joined on one June Sunday. Mr. Boardman resigned September, 1832, for various reasons. He felt that the church was too new to be securely established, that the large additions from the revival were not assimilated, and that trouble was coming that might result in division. At the first sign of dissatisfaction with himself, he resigned. Most of the congregation did not wish him to go.

He was succeeded within a short time by the Rev. Elisha Lord Cleaveland, whose thirty-three years of service covered the most troubled years in the history of the church, as well as its great and prosperous period. Recently graduated from Bowdoin College and from Andover Seminary, he came to New Haven in January, 1833, as many were doing, to sit at the feet of the famous Professor Taylor. The intention of spending a year listening to the lectures was soon unexpectedly given up, for on his second Sunday in New Haven he supplied the pulpit of the Third Church with such effect that he was called to fill it permanently. Arrangements made for him to continue his studies at the same time were

soon abandoned, for he found the teachings of Mr. Taylor too advanced.

By training and mental constitution Mr. Cleaveland was opposed to innovations and speculations, and he was therefore naturally drawn to the conservative rather than the progressive side of the theological controversy. In giving the story of the founding of the Third Church he set forth at some length in the records the theological questions at issue. His beliefs are evident from the points he made in attacking the teachings of the new school which he labelled this "miscalled Divinity."

"This scheme," he wrote, "denies the doctrine of original righteousness and of original sin. It asserts that all the posterity of Adam are born with a sinless nature, having no moral character. That infants and animals stand in precisely the same relation to this subject, being neither of them under the moral government of God. They deny that men have any natural sinful propensities. They hold that there is no sin in the heart until the beginning of moral agency. Indeed, it is a cardinal point in this scheme, that all sin and holiness consist in *action*, to the exclusion of anything that may be called a sinful or holy *nature*. They maintain that self-love or the desire of happiness is the highest end of action of which we are capable, whether regenerate or unregenerate. The advocates of this theory declare it to be a groundless assumption that God could have prevented all sin in a moral system and assert that free moral agents can do wrong under every possible influence to prevent them. According to this scheme, regeneration is not the implantation of any new principle of holiness by the Holy Ghost, but a mere change of purpose, which the sinner is at all times perfectly qualified to execute by his own unaided strength:—that it is preceded by a suspension of the selfish principle, on the part of the sinner—and that the Holy Spirit does not, by direct efficiency change the heart, and thus cause holy volitions and affections, but that he exerts an influence (as some say) differing only in degree, from that exercised by men in argument and persuasion. Or as others say, He effects the change by stirring up the natural susceptibilities of the heart, under the influence of which operation, the sinner chooses God for his portion, and so, i.e. by this choice passes from death unto life.

"Such are the leading principles of the New Divinity. Other points of error might be named, for it is easy to see how these

principles must affect and modify the doctrine of election, of decrees, of faith and repentance."

The belief in God's universal dominion and providence, said a friend of Mr. Cleaveland's, of decrees pre-appointing all events, while upholding man's liberty, of man's inability to save himself without the saving grace of God, of bringing good from evil, holiness from sin—these doctrines were to him, not discouraging fatalism, but "an adamant rock of trust, without which the world were a chaos, history a trackless waste, life aimless, and all action fortuitous and hopeless."

Because of the incompatibility of these beliefs with Professor Taylor's teachings, Mr. Cleaveland gave up the plan of continuing his studies, as has been said, and on July 24, 1833, was ordained pastor of the Third Church. Here he remained until his death in 1866. The first five years of his ministry were peaceful, but seeds of division and trouble were germinating, as his predecessor had felt, and Mr. Cleaveland antagonized some members of the church by open denunciation of Professor Taylor's teachings. In addition the young church and the young minister encountered the turbulent waves of the panic of 1837. The combination of so many unfavorable conditions nearly overwhelmed them.

The difficulties were complicated by the fact that the meeting-house did not belong to the society. The \$18,000 which paid for the building and the land on which it stood had been borrowed and then divided and sold as stock. Interest on the funds invested by the stockholders must be paid from the first returns from pew rentals. In only one year had enough money been raised to meet this obligation. In 1838 it became necessary to ask the stockholders to reduce the rate of interest for three years from six to three per cent. Though most of them did not belong to the society, many were willing to grant the request, but the largest holder, Mr. Timothy Dwight, one of the principal founders of the church, and deacon from 1828 to 1836, was still following Taylorism and therefore dissatisfied with the out-spoken Calvinistic beliefs of the pastor. He had left the church, and told the committee asking for reduction of the rate of interest that he would not help in their difficulties, since these misfortunes were due to the doctrines preached from the pulpit. If the present minister were dismissed and a man of the "right stamp" settled, he would come back into the church and do all he could to help. In

other words, the church must give up either the meeting-house or the minister.

Unwilling to abandon his beliefs, Mr. Cleaveland expected to leave, but this the people would not permit. On his part, considering himself partly responsible for the state of affairs, he felt obliged to stand by his people, although it would probably be to his disadvantage. Thus developed the surprising situation, that a church founded in 1826 by followers of Taylor, chose in 1838 to keep the minister who openly and definitely disagreed with his teachings. Though forms of fellowship with other churches were never broken, both minister and church were on the unpopular side of ecclesiastical affairs in New Haven. "Ridicule, detraction and abuse were liberally employed against us," said Mr. Cleaveland, "the power of Yale College was pressed into the service: old friends forsook us; & we were left, a little company, to breast this tide of opposition alone." To borrow a phrase from President Stiles they might be called "martyrs to New Divinity," or as Mr. Cleaveland said, referring to the New Divinity of his time, "It was the Spirit of this new Divinity that drove our church and society from their house of worship."

The stockholders were equally firm and kept the building. In it the Chapel Street Church, known to-day as the Church of the Redeemer, was soon formed by the dissatisfied members in a meeting of which Mr. Dwight was chairman. Again they had the "electric" preaching of Professor Taylor. Though free seats in their church were offered members of the Third Church, a group of faithful ones remained with Mr. Cleaveland. In September, 1838, they began worship in a hall on the northeast corner of Orange and Chapel Streets which belonged to Center Church. The use of this hall and the encouragement Dr. Bacon gave Mr. Cleaveland were always gratefully remembered. There, sitting on plain benches before a little table as a pulpit, they listened to the first sermon on the text, "By whom shall Jacob arise, for he is small."

Such an arrangement for worship could be only temporary and Mr. Cleaveland began going about to "friends of sound doctrine" seeking for help in putting up a new building. He visited cities from Albany to Baltimore and nearly every county in Connecticut. It took three years of effort to raise the money. Twice discouraged by the loss of funds already collected, the people persisted,

and showed their faith by starting a building before all the money to pay for it had been raised. By the close of 1841 the dreary days without a meeting-house were ended and the new home on the north side of Court Street was ready. It was a day, said Mr. Cleaveland, "never to be forgotten . . . the crowning triumph of a long and painful struggle . . . a conflict occasioned by the open assertion of our distinctive faith and of the purpose to maintain it on this ground." No wonder he felt justified in expounding in his dedication sermon what he considered "the great constituent elements of the Gospel of our salvation." Dr. Tyler preached on the same day and in his sermon "The doctrine of God's absolute control over moral beings was unanswerably established." A few days later another minister "triumphantly refuted the notion, that 'self-love,' or the desire of happiness, is the primary cause or reason of all acts of preference or choice which fix supremely on any object."

For the new building Chauncey Jerome, founder of the Clock Company, gave an organ. John Cleaveland, brother of the minister, a distinguished lawyer of New York City, always a supporter, gave a bell and bought four pews. In 1843 a lecture room was added, for the church grew, and other activities than preaching needed a place. Many people still held the old, conservative beliefs, and they joined this church, besides some of the newcomers to the city. Mr. Cleaveland was regarded by Old School theologians everywhere as more orthodox than other New Haven pastors, and families coming from their churches in other towns naturally were sent to his church.

In spite of the dismissals to form new churches made necessary by the growth of the city, increase of membership came to require a larger place of worship. The people were the more ready to undertake this for the Court Street building was small and had never been considered a permanent home. In August, 1856, a new stone building was dedicated on Church Street where the Second National Bank building now stands. Recovery from the panic of 1837 and prosperity are shown by the fact that though it took nearly three years to obtain the money for the Court Street building, and much of it came from outside sources, money for the new building and its site was raised in one month and nearly all of it from members of the church. One man who could give only his watch in 1838 now gave \$2000; another who found it hard to

raise the \$200 pledged in 1838 now gave \$5000. The old building was sold to the Congregation of Mishkan-Israel.

Mr. Cleaveland died suddenly in 1866. His successor, Mr. Gregory, served only a short time; Mr. Murdoch followed for another short pastorate, and in April, 1875, the last minister, Mr. Dennen, was installed.

It is said that one Sunday in 1864 Mr. Cleaveland called attention to the shame of worshipping in a mortgaged sanctuary, and in a week the building was freed by voluntary subscriptions. When he died in 1866 the church had no incumbrances, but the death of prominent men and a financial panic of the seventies again brought the burden of indebtedness. Loss of members to form other churches due to the shifting of population added to the difficulties and there began to be talk of uniting with another church. At this time, besides the two Congregational churches on the Green, and the Third Church facing it, a fourth, the College Street Church, was near by. Too much Congregationalism seemed to be concentrated in the center of the city.

In 1874 a Presbyterian Church which had been started in the city was merged with the Third Church and proposals for union with the College Street Church (Plymouth) were twice made. At the first proposal in 1876 a large proportion of the members and a still larger proportion of pewholders voted against it, though all were willing to accede to a majority vote. Instead \$3000 was pledged for three years. But in the annual meeting of 1883 it was reported that the pew rentals did not begin to pay the expenses of the church, that there was a large indebtedness, and that the debt was increasing. A second negotiation for union with the College Street Church failed because the Third Church insisted that its minister, Mr. Dennen, should fill the pulpit of the church to be formed by the union.

The North Church was suffering from the same "relentless circumstances," to use the words of a report on their situation and the advantages of union. Its income was declining, having been reduced from over \$7000 in 1876 to about \$4500 in 1883, and there was a deficit. Recent deaths of some of the oldest and most prominent members, especially Atwater Treat, Wells Southworth and Nathan Peck, had precipitated a crisis. There was no trouble in the church, but it was only half occupied at the weekly services, there was increasing difficulty in meeting expenses, and

finally these conditions were deterring people from becoming members.

In December, 1883, an invitation was extended the Third Church to join the North Church. The question of union brought forth warm discussion in the Third Church, partly because of reluctance to giving up their organization and building, and partly because of their conservative beliefs. But some of the leading men were in its favor, while those on the opposite side would not be able to give much money to help the church out of its difficulties or support it. By a majority vote only—thirty-nine to thirty-two—the invitation was accepted, January, 1884. Only a few in the North Church opposed it, and they made no manifestation. According to the terms of the union, the Third Church gave up its name, its organization and its building, “founded and supported,” said the North Church report, “in a spirit of liberality with which we have nothing to compare.” This sacrifice was necessary as the North Church did not own its site on the Green and the Third Church lot could be sold, a repetition of the situation when the White Haven and Fair Haven churches were united and a new building became necessary.

To effect the union required time and the best efforts of devoted men from each church. In order to facilitate it both Mr. Hawes, minister of the North Church, and Mr. Dennen of the Third Church resigned, the latter somewhat unwillingly. All officers of both churches resigned at the same time. On January 25, 1884, a special meeting of the two churches was held in the chapel of the United Church. A plan of union previously prepared “was considered, article by article, and after a free discussion of its several provisions adopted.” In February an Ecclesiastical Council approved the union. On March 31, 1884, the clerk of the North Church ended his labors with the words “The Records of the Church of Christ in the United Society are now closed.” And the minister, Mr. Hawes said, it is “the end of another chapter of your life as a church.”

In its nearly fifty-eight years of existence the Third Church had had 1509 members, more than half of them received by Mr. Cleaveland. The annual meeting of 1883 reported 415 members belonging to 171 families. 330 came at once to the United Church and were followed soon by 29 of the 50 or 60 who had

taken open letters. The rest went in small groups to other churches.

The North Church and its predecessors in their nearly one hundred forty-two years of existence had had about 3000 members, and brought 473 to the new organization, making a total membership of 803 in the new church. A report given about ten years later said, "If only those had been counted who were on the ground and entered heartily and actively into the union, five hundred would have been nearer the mark. Each church had a long list of absentees. . . . There was also in both churches—especially in the North Church—a great number of aged persons." So it was inevitable that for a time the catalogue should show slight losses in numbers from year to year until the membership had settled down and "dead-wood" had been removed. The lowest point—608—was reached at the end of 1894. From that time came steady increase until the highest point in 1920, when it was 886. It is curious that at one time, 1931, the membership was 803, as at the time of union.

A series of meetings in the spring of 1884, all held in the buildings of the North Church, inaugurated the life of the newly formed United Church. On Monday, March 31, the Church met in the chapel to form committees and elect officers; on Tuesday, April 1, the Society met in the same place for the same purpose; and on Friday, April 4, the first prayer meeting was held, led by the senior deacon, Mr. Samuel G. Thorne of the Third Church. On April 6 in the building on the Green the Rev. Newman Smythe of Center Church preached at the first Sunday service, and in the evening a committee of the Ecclesiastical Council which had approved the union in February held a meeting in the same place publicly recognizing the United Church. On May 4 almost exactly one hundred twenty-three years from the time the White Haven Church was organized, the first communion was celebrated. The first annual meeting was held January 23, 1885, called together by the Rev. Samuel J. M. Merwin, son of a former minister of the North Church. The question of two buildings was settled for the immediate present by holding services alternately in each for a month, as the White Haven and Fair Haven Churches had done after the union of 1796.

The Standing Committee of the Third Church closed its last report with the hope that the United Church would "become

strong, prosperous and eminently useful." Its first task was to make real the union of two churches, each with an honorable past, with worthy and distinguished leaders, and fine buildings almost facing each other across the Green. In the background were theological differences. Dr. Smythe touched upon them in the first sermon on April 6, and spoke plain words. "You have belonged to the church militant. There have been religious and theological conflicts in the past through which you have been led, and you have had earnest and sincere leaders. . . . With reverence for the fathers to-day you bring in honor the battle flags of your past conflicts laying them side by side, in the temple of peace." And in his charge to the people he said, "Let every note of war now and forever cease in this church. This day has cost you something, I am aware, some sacrifice." Mr. Hawes had already said the same thing to his people.

The differences in the histories of the two churches kept some people from coming into the United Church, and varieties of opinion on lesser matters and differences of methods might cause trouble, but although individual losses occurred after the union no group separated to form another church. Less than two years later, in an official report, a former member of the Third Church, chosen one of the first deacons in the United Church, could say, "As I have watched during the last two years the rapid commingling of what had been two churches into one, and have seen the union so progress that now the line of joining is hardly perceptible, and as I have seen the growing Christian fellowship among this united people I feel that the uniting of the churches has succeeded more fully and more rapidly than even the most sanguine among us had anticipated." A little later, nine years after the union, the minister in his annual report said the church had become unified both in doctrine and methods of work, and had come to have "the strength of common ways of thinking and feeling in respect to Christian truth." That this was a real unity is shown by the statement made by a new minister in 1902. "It is the first parish in which my lot has been cast where I have not had to attempt the reconciliation of various factions. Here, at least, we have harmony. Our unity is one of spirit and not of doctrine."

CHAPTER V

CHANGES IN CHURCH LIFE

Chronologically the history of the church is divided into three periods—those of the White Haven and Fair Haven Churches, of the North and Third Churches, and of the United Church, but from the point of view of development of activities and administration there are only two. The dividing line may be taken as 1796, the year which saw the union of the first two churches. The years prior to that date saw the establishment of this second Congregational Church in the town-parish of New Haven, where the theory had been that of a region united in a single church. The success of this effort, which might be called part of the movement for religious freedom, was completed in 1818 with the adoption of the new constitution. After 1796 the old order was to change in another way. From being interested mainly or almost solely in theology and preaching, the church entered upon many activities, not only inside its own organization, its own town and country, but in the world at large. Its attention was turned more and more to humanitarian problems, which became more insistent as city life developed. The subjects of interest, and the organizations to carry them out began to appear early in the 19th century and are still developing along practically the same lines.

Preaching was changing too, with less emphasis on doctrine than on behavior in every day life. About the middle of the century, Mr. Dutton, minister of the North Church, said he had come to “rely more for the beginning and improvement of Christian character, upon appeals to the spirit of benevolence and righteousness, of self-denial and self-sacrifice, than upon appeals to the spirit of self-love, or the desire of personal welfare.” Dr. Bacon said of Mr. Dutton that “Nobody that heard him was allowed to feel that religion has nothing to do with human affairs . . . with the hearer’s conduct in business and trade, or with his conduct as a citizen sharing in the guidance of a self-governed commonwealth . . . [or that] Christianity has no protest to offer against the oppression of the poor.” At a much later date another

minister, Mr. Haynes, went further and said the business of the church was not saving people but serving them. Theologically the change meant an increased emphasis upon the love of God rather than upon his sovereignty, and that converts regarded themselves not so much as "brands plucked from the burning" as people who had been persuaded to consecrate themselves to serve a chosen Saviour. This new theology, exemplified by this sort of preaching, resulted in a more practical Christianity, that led people to take more part in movements for social betterment.

At the beginning of the 19th century religious conditions were changing in other ways. The Saybrook Platform had not been included in the revision of the laws in 1784; the Half Way Covenant was outmoded,¹ and in 1818 church and state were to be separated. On the one hand, both in theory and in fact the Congregational church became free to follow a more purely religious development, while on the other it was forced to depend entirely on its own resources. If it was liberated from the state's authority, it was also lacking state support, financial and otherwise. But it is surprising how little immediate practical difference disestablishment seems to have made, except for the temporary shock to men's minds. No echo of disturbance appears in the records of this church at least, and so far as financial support was concerned, the church had already begun to establish a fund several years before 1818. The problems resulting from the separation of the church from the state had to be solved sometime, but for a while the religious habits established by generations continued among church-going people.

Disestablishment did bring one real and immediate difficulty—the loss of members to other denominations, now that they were on an equal footing with Congregationalists. Hitherto the various sects had regarded one another almost as enemies, at least with unfriendly feelings. An extract from the letter of a minister to one of Lyman Beecher's sons shows how unfriendly these feelings were. "I attended an evening service" [in 1814 or 1815] he wrote, "in the old blue meeting house. . . . I think that the sermon was preached by Dr. McCuen, from the text 'Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vine.' The directors of the Domestic Mission of Connecticut had met for consultation, and I

¹ The Rev. Moses Stuart of the First Church demolished it theologically in a series of sermons.

suppose our Methodist and Baptist friends were the little foxes." ²

Certificates of withdrawals from this church which have been preserved show that between 1799 and 1816 forty members affiliated themselves with one denomination alone—the Episcopalian—while many others became Methodists and Baptists. After 1818 it was no longer necessary to belong to any church. People were as free from the church as the church was free from the state.

The condition of religious life in all denominations was low at the end of the 18th century, due to forces that had been operating over many years. The effects of the French and Indian wars, and the American and French Revolutions, resulted in the spread of infidelity and had weakened churches in both numbers and influence. It was a time of darkness in the day-time, said Mr. Merwin, minister of the North Church. The interest in public affairs that had been stimulated by the movement for independence and the activities that followed on the establishment of the new state governments emphasized the secular life at the expense of the church. "Politics," reported President Dwight of Yale College, "has engrossed the place of Religion . . . [men] glory in being Federalists or democrats."

But a new means of restoring the churches had already been developed, or rather it was an old method, fallen into disrepute because of excesses and now purged and revived. This was the great revival movement which had begun about the turn of the century and in New Haven reached its peak about 1831. Whatever it was to become later, it was at first a purified Great Awakening. Like its prototype, it had its powerful leaders, and the names of Edwards, Whitefield, and Tennent were followed now by those of Lyman Beecher, Nathaniel W. Taylor, and Asahel Nettleton, and in its later days by those of Moody and Sankey.

In Connecticut, the first result of this movement was to carry the Congregational churches through the crises of religious indifference, disestablishment, and the losses caused by the rapid growth, largely at their expense, of other denominations. Dependence for growth upon revivals became a definite policy. Mr. Merwin said, "On revival *after* revival, revival *upon* revival, alone can you with safety depend to perpetuate the holy seed." A year

² Autobiography and Correspondence of Lyman Beecher, N. Y., 1864, vol. I, p. 381.

without a revival, 1813, he called a "barren year." Forty years later, 1853, the records of the Third Church said of the preceding year "No revival of religion has crowned the year with its mercies."

In 1805, at the beginning of Mr. Merwin's pastorate, the first long one of the period, the church numbered about 150, of whom a large proportion were older people. It was said that it contained only two young persons professedly Christian, a statement borne out by the equally small numbers in the church in Yale College, which was almost extinct. By the middle of the third decade of the new century, five revivals had added great numbers of members, most of them young people. Figures tell the story if the increase is compared with that of years without revivals, even allowing for the growth in population in the city. Under the popular Mr. Bird of the White Haven Church eighty-two persons joined in sixteen and a half years; under Mr. Mather of the Fair Haven Church seventy were added in a little less than twelve years; and ninety-six in the twenty-seven year pastorate of Mr. Edwards. In Mr. Merwin's ministry of about equal length 850 were added, and 117 in the two and a half year pastorate of his successor, Mr. Sawyer. After one revival, 1821, one hundred were brought into the North Church at one time, and a large number in 1831. In the first twenty-five years of Mr. Dutton's ministry 402 out of a total addition of 750 joined the church by profession of faith. About two thirds of these, he said, came as a result of revivals. Mr. Taylor who preached for a time in the Third Church, was a revival preacher, and similar results were seen in that church especially in 1831 and after what its minister called "The Great Awakening of 1858." The effectiveness of revivals in building up the church is demonstrated also by the number of leaders and workers who were brought into it in this way. This is shown specifically in the cases of individuals considered in later chapters.

Not only ministers but laymen also labored in revivals, both in their own and other churches. The revival of 1820 which started in New Haven was spread to other places in this way. Simeon Jocelyn, at this time a member of the North Church, said later that in 1820 and the following years he visited churches in other towns, and that to prepare for this work sixty lay brethren met every Saturday evening at the home of another brother, Mr.

Timothy Dwight. Deputations which included Dwight and Jocelyn visited Connecticut churches "far and near." Members who could not help by conducting meetings assisted in other ways.

In the revivals of the 19th century new methods were followed. Meetings were held in private homes as well as in the churches and their lecture rooms. Outside helpers were brought in and welcomed, not opposed as they had been in 1742. Men like Brother Nettleton came more than once in these years. Their visits were longer than those of the itinerants of the Great Awakening; Brother Nettleton was here for two or three months at a time. In 1828 "protracted meetings" were held, which lasted four days. Early morning prayer meetings were followed by three sermons each day. In addition, the minister conferred in the morning with people at his home, and in the afternoon called on those who could not come to see him. "Inquiry meetings" usually began with a short address and a prayer, then the minister talked with each person, and the meeting closed with exhortation and prayer. Special groups held prayer and conference meetings.

But just as the Great Awakening had waned, so this second revival movement gradually declined towards the middle of the century. The reasons for the change in the new age were different from those operating in the 18th century. They were mainly constructive, not merely negative, because of the faults of the revivals. Results were beginning to show of forces and ideas that had been at work for some time. Instruction and training of the young and the realization of their place and importance in the church were coming to supplant revivals with their greater attention to the conversion of adults by a definite experience. Theories like those set forth in Horace Bushnell's "Christian Nurture" superseded the belief in an extraordinary experience or "conversion," as the necessary beginning of religious life. "The children," said a member of the North Church, "born children of promise and taught from earliest infancy that God loves them and they love Him, will probably grow up Christians and will not need to be consciously converted." This method of church growth also meant continuous gains that were more nearly constant instead of the large gains at intervals that were characteristic of the revival system.

Though some began early to question the value of special efforts to promote revivals, belief in them long persisted—in fact one of the greatest occurred in 1858, and extended all over the country. Still later, Mr. Gregory of the Third Church, wrote, "We are praying for an outpouring of the Spirit and I may add expecting it." When Mr. Dennen came to the same church in 1875 a member wrote, "I expect a great revival in the church and congregation." In 1878 the North Church helped organize and carry on the Moody and Sankey meetings in New Haven, postponing some of its own activities in the interest of these evangelists. Both Mr. Hawes of the North Church and Mr. Dennen of the Third Church participated in revival meetings, some of which were held alternately in their churches. Perhaps as a result of this revival seventeen joined the North Church in July, 1878. Fuller attendance at prayer meetings was reported, and it was remarked by a deacon of the North Church that though the lame and blind had not been healed, the dumb had been led to speak.

But this was the last great revival here and it was doubted later that it brought real strength. The United Church definitely gave up the system under Dr. Munger. How completely the point of view changed is shown by the statement of his successor, Mr. Haynes, that, "Our highest aim is not to cure spiritual diseases, but to prevent their entrance into the soul. This is why the Sunday School is a higher order of service than the revival meeting. The latter is a hospital, the former a gymnasium."

The new life in the churches after the opening of the 19th century was showing itself in other ways than in revivals. Activities of all sorts were developed, many for the first time. In the preceding century ideas of the betterment of the world had been general. Reform along particular lines, such as temperance, with separate groups, each working for its own cause, through its own organizations, was practically a new development. It is striking to study the dates of the founding of philanthropic societies of all kinds. A Society for the Abolition of Slavery was founded in 1790; the Missionary Society of Connecticut in 1798; the Connecticut Bible Society in 1809; the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1810; the New England Tract Society in 1814; and the Domestic Missionary Society in 1815—to name the earliest ones formed.

Besides the formation of organizations to carry out wider interests, workers were being drawn from wider sources. "Sisters" were developing their own interests and societies in addition to those of the "Brethren" and separate from them. Young people were organizing and experiments of various kinds were made in the effort to reach every one and to draw them into the life of the church. The 19th century made the church, roused, invigorated and prepared by the revivals, a working body that kept pace with new ideas and ideals. How great a change was wrought in this and other churches was stated by Dr. Bacon of the First Church. In reviewing forty years of his ministry, he said the difference in church life between the years 1825 and 1865 was greater than that between 1725 and 1825.

Groups of many kinds for work and study were formed in the course of this development. Some flourished for a longer or shorter period, some briefly languished and died leaving almost no record, some left only a name. Others were modified, for, as one minister said, "The most difficult thing in the world to organize is religion." It would be tedious and difficult, in fact almost impossible, even to name all the societies started as the church took up new lines of work. This is partly because of their numbers, partly because of the lack of records. Brief reference to some of the most important and characteristic will serve to indicate the kind of activities that were starting because it was felt that they met a need in the church life. The statement will also show that while the church and the ideals for which it stands in the last analysis are permanent and unchanging, its ways of working are temporary and constantly adapted to fit new conditions. To remain alive it must vary its appeal and methods. What works to-day may not be effective tomorrow.

An illustration of this fact is the course of one institution characteristic of the church as a whole in this period—the rise and fall of mid-week prayer meetings. At first they were considered irregular and were regarded with hostility by some ministers as rivals of the Sunday services. Some people even thought them disreputable, calling them in disapproval "night meetings," and suspecting them of being possible sources of disorder. But by 1822 weekly meetings were being held in the North Church with the approval of the pastor, Mr. Merwin. In the summer of 1827 he himself helped by giving a series of lectures at these

meetings on subjects taken from the second and third chapters of Revelations. He reported that "the labor was not lost." He also held neighborhood prayer meetings in connection with his visits to members of the congregation. The prayer meeting held the week before Communion was regarded as preparatory to the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Preparatory meetings, called Sacramental Lectures, of a different nature, with sermons, had long been held, sometimes, as has been seen, in connection with the other churches.

Prayer meetings were flourishing in 1838 when Mr. Dutton became pastor, meeting on Tuesday evenings. At times there seem to have been two kinds of week-day meetings. For example, in 1867 the church voted that their spiritual interests would be advanced by the pastor's conducting the Tuesday evening meetings according to his convenience and discretion and that meetings for prayer and conference be held on Friday evenings. The catalogue for that year lists meetings on Tuesday evenings as a lecture, alternating monthly with the missionary concert, and on Friday evenings a prayer meeting, alternating monthly with the preparatory lecture. As the "Brothers" were meeting for prayer on Monday evenings, and the ladies had their week-day prayer meetings, there would seem to have been no difficulty in this matter. The Third Church had several prayer meetings also, and for much of the time the young people of both churches were also holding prayer meetings, separately and together.

In 1880 it was reported in the North Church that at the Tuesday evening meetings in good weather the attendance was usually about one hundred. Dr. Munger considered the mid-week prayer meeting, by this time reduced to a single meeting (except for that of the women), as one of the most important parts of the work and life of the church. Mr. Haynes went even further. He said, "I regard this meeting of church members as no less important than the Sunday morning worship. . . . It is the only regular church gathering that affords opportunity for fraternal greeting and fellowship. . . . The prayer meeting should be the supreme endeavor of the church to realize God. It should be, in the highest sense, evangelical."

Yet their prosperity fluctuated in both churches, and at times throughout the period "social prayer meetings" as they were called, were subjects of discussion. In 1872 the Third Church said they

were not sustained as well as they should be. In 1876 the North Church lamented the lack of interest shown by the irregular attendance. In 1895 the prayer meetings were said not to be largely attended and to receive practically no recognition from a large part of the church. Later an effort was made to rouse interest by series of talks or discussions on definite subjects. In 1912-1913 some of those considered were "A Perplexed Thinker," "An Eager Young Man," "Shrewd Objectors," and later still, to try to make the Bible alive and part of every day life, subjects like "The Social Life of Some Bible Characters." At times omitted during the summer and discontinued temporarily in 1921 for lack of attendance, the Tuesday evening meetings, except for those held during Lent, were entirely given up early in the present pastorate. The meetings in Lent and the one on New Year's morning, started in 1888 by Dr. Munger and still continued, are now the only ones for the church as a whole.

CHAPTER VI

FORMATION OF CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS

Special organizations in the North Church were necessary to carry out the new ideas of church activities. In order to rouse and maintain the interest of the men of the church in the educational, moral, and missionary problems which faced it, groups were formed of various kinds. The earliest of these societies of men of which there is a record is the "Male Missionary Association," formed in 1826. It had a constitution with the usual officers and thirteen collectors, and perhaps its main function was to raise money for the missionary cause. It was still in existence in 1830, or was re-created at that time to aid missions under the A. B. C. F. M. In the absence of further records, it is impossible to tell whether the Association did more than contribute financially to missions, or how long it continued.

A society which lasted for several years was the "Brothers' Meeting for Prayer and Exhortation," in existence in 1842. Records which have been preserved begin at that date. It met Monday evenings at the homes of members. Two books of records of attendance, from February 1842 to February 1853, the only available source of information, give no indication whether or not the Association began at that date or earlier. A note in the back of one book of a meeting in February, 1874, at which ten were present, proves a still longer existence of the organization but with no indication whether this meeting was one of a continual series or a revival. Careful account was kept of the prayers offered, exhortations made, and the times a member took charge of a meeting. According to the records, the Brothers missed only one meeting in 1852, that of July Fourth. The most active members, at least the most articulate, were Marcus Merri-man, Sherman Knevals, Deacon Maltby, and Charles Lines. No subjects of discussion or program other than prayer and exhortation are mentioned, and as the name shows, the object of the Association was purely religious to promote their own spiritual life.

A "Young Men's Association of the United Society" was organized in 1855, apparently part of a general movement. Its object was to promote "our social unity and our mental and moral development." A pleasant meeting place for young men and a chance to get acquainted were needed, it was said, to make up the "deficiency in our relations to the young." The organization was to "have a special care that suitable sympathy and aid may be manifested toward any of its members who may be sick or in need." Meetings were held every Monday, with literary exercises, but the Association seems to have been more ambitious and worthy than strong, for many meetings had to be postponed because of lack of attendance. The largest number recorded at a meeting was twenty-six, including visitors from other Associations.

For a time the Association worked with a similar group in the First Church, formed a year earlier by Dr. Bacon. They met in the First Church room, shared the expenses, and hoped to cooperate in a course of Sunday evening lectures. Friendly relations were held with Associations from other churches, but a proposal to participate in public debates was declined, the members feeling themselves not yet prepared for such exhibitions. Records of meetings end in March, 1857. The last meeting was engaged in a discussion of the thrifty offer of the Young Men's Institute of free use of their rooms if every member of the Association joined the Institute. Perhaps they did, and no longer felt the need of the church rooms as a "pleasant meeting place." At any rate available records end at this time.

Subjects discussed in their meetings included the perennial "Ought women to be admitted to the exercise of civil and political rights with men?" which of course was decided in the negative. Joseph Sheldon, Jr., gave a lecture on "The Position and Duties of Christian Young Men in Politics"; a member gave a paper made up of extracts of a journal kept during his travels in Europe; and, in lighter vein, burlesques were given of their own meetings. Some of their debates were conducted "in a conversational manner." There was a Young Men's Association in the Third Church, which "sought in some measure to aid in benefitting the homeless young men of the city who have come within their reach." Nothing is known of this organization except that in 1868 it was reported to have conducted a prayer meeting for

nearly a year in the lecture room on Sunday after the second service; that it helped Sunday evenings in the Olivet Mission conducted by that church and a year or so later was conducting a prayer meeting in Allingtown.

A printed leaflet of 1886-7 mentions a "Young Men's Meeting" every Thursday evening in the North Church, but there are no records of men's meetings from the last Brothers' Meeting in 1874 until the formation twenty years later of the "Men's Sunday Evening Club of the United Church," organized September 27, 1894, at the home of the pastor. Though the "Young Men's Association" might have given the suggestion and model for this kind of a club, it was said to have been founded along ideas developed in the West. The club was designed to supplement the work of the United Society, which was concerned only with the business side of the life of the church, and to provide a field of activity for men (including those from outside the parish) who were sympathetic with church work, and wished to share its services and cooperate in it, but did not wish to become members.

With a membership of a little over a hundred the club organized itself with a constitution, officers, and committees. The special work it set itself was the maintenance of a Sunday evening service, which as a regular meeting had recently been given up for lack of a congregation. The first one was held on October 7 with an address by the pastor. Meetings under the auspices of the club were to be different from the former Sunday evening services, and were to appeal particularly to men and in broader fashion. They were to be "immediately and practically concerned with moral and municipal problems, and with the religious life," or as the revised constitution of 1899 expressed it, "The aim of this Club shall be to assist, by all means possible, in making this church, and its members and attendants, useful in the community life of New Haven."

Such a club was something of a novelty and for several years its meetings, held in the church on Sunday evenings, were widely attended. The average attendance, five hundred, was swollen to more than twice that number with a popular speaker. But again times changed, the attendance fell off and Sunday evening meetings were given up about 1904.

To carry out its desire to attract persons with no church connections, men from outside the church and society were invited to join. Sometimes they paid a small initiation fee, and small annual dues were levied on members, but in order to avoid taking collections at the Sunday evening meetings, the larger expenses, such as those for speakers, were paid by subscriptions.

Besides stated meetings on the first Sunday of each month, the club tried less formal social gatherings once a month, either in the Parish House or in the homes of members, when a paper was usually presented. At one time weekly meetings were held Sunday noon after the church service; at another the club met Sunday mornings in the rooms over the vestibule of the church.

Some of the subjects on its varied programmes have been "Prison Experiences in the Civil War" by Col. Edward E. Sill; "Thackeray" by Prof. Wilbur L. Cross; "Prison Reform under the Elmira System" by Charles Dudley Warner; the "City Government"; and "The Place of the Club in Civic Affairs." Musical services showed the possibility of a chorus choir.

In 1913 the Men's Club suggested to the Board of Deacons a plan "to make the United Church Parish House a Social Center with the privilege of introducing dancing if thought expedient." The deacons were cool to this suggestion and wanted to know more of the plan before making a decision. No further mention of it occurs in the minutes of the deacons' meetings and the next entry about the club a year or so later is that the Men's Club "explained that it was planned to make the work of the club more of a religious nature than heretofore."

Occasionally the club undertook a specific work. In 1911 it sent representatives to Hartford to favor a contagious disease hospital. It has contributed money to worthy causes. It now helps in Boy Scout and Club programmes. But unlike the "Brothers' Meeting" of an earlier day, it is not designed for Exhortation and Prayer.

The present schedule of the club is—supper meetings in the Parish House once a month, with talks by members or others; a Boy's Night and a Ladies' Night, with some kind of an entertainment; a joint meeting with similar clubs in Center and Trinity Churches; and an outing in the Spring.

It must not be forgotten that from the beginning of the existence of the church, the men as a whole have been the oldest

group of lay workers. Besides serving as deacons, they have been clerks, treasurers, and members of committees. Theirs has been the responsibility for the practical side of church life. They have collected the money for the support of the church, and as funds were accumulated, they have managed their investment and expenditure. They have chosen the ministers, arranged for their settlements and salary, built and cared for the meeting-houses and parsonages. They have looked out for the poor of the church and have helped discipline members who have gone astray. They have worked in the Sunday School and the Mission School of the church, and have served on the Boards of the Orphan Asylum, the City Mission and similar institutions.

Work for boys has taken various forms since the days when something more than Sunday School was provided. A Boy's Brigade was organized November, 1892, with twenty-one members. Later it had forty. It met Monday evenings for military drill, followed by a prayer meeting. The boys furnished uniforms, and the church provided wooden rifles. To become a member a boy must belong to the Sunday School. The military nature of this organization seemed undesirable to some, though criticism was hampered by the reflection that many of the most loved and familiar hymns belong strictly to the church militant. This group was connected with the National Brigade, and lasted several years.

After an interval of experimenting with clubs having Greek letter names and others like "The Knights of King Arthur," Boy Scout work was adopted. Carrying out the idea of a municipal church, membership in Boy Scouts, Cub Pack, and Sea Scouts is not limited to boys connected with the Church or Sunday School. Provision now is also made for athletics of various kinds, with teams that participate in inter-church contests.

Women were to share more actively in the newly-vitalized life of the church, and were to do it through their own organizations. In fact, their special organizations, as they exist to-day are older than those of the men, and in general are more flourishing and active. In the earliest days women were members of the Society. Three women signed the Agreement of 1749 setting up the voluntary society—Lucretia Burroughs (who signed twice), Rachel Warner, who made her mark, and Sarah Kimberley. When the Society was incorporated, thirteen women were assigned to it,

some by choice and some by the General Assembly. It is suggested that the reason for their inclusion was because they were property holders or heads of families and therefore subject to taxation and military service. It is doubtful if they ever voted in Society meetings, as they had no suffrage, and in any case they soon ceased to belong,¹ retiring into the silent sisterhood. Some of the earliest gifts to the church were from women. Ruth Tuttle in 1749 left some land, and Elizabeth Dickermen in 1767 gave some money to be distributed to the poor of the church. In 1837 the church voted to ask the ladies to take up a contribution for Foreign Missions, "separate from that of the Gentlemen."

Mr. Merwin stated that in 1805, when he became pastor, the only meeting held during the week was that of a "few female members of the church [who] were in the habit, the evening after the monthly lecture preparatory to the sacramental supper, of meeting for edification, by reading the Scripture and singing hymns, with prayer also, whenever there was any *brother* present to lead them in their devotion." But these modest ladies were pioneers after all, for, he added, "So far as can be remembered or ascertained there was no other gathering of the kind in the city at that day." The meetings were kept up and the ladies became articulate. By the seventies, one man went so far as to suggest in a report, "No doubt we should be instructed and greatly benefited many times if the ladies took some part in our Tuesday evening meetings." Women's prayer meetings have been one of the most continuous of the church's activities and are still held once a month. This is the longest and so far as can be ascertained the most unbroken record of any activity in the church except the preaching on Sunday mornings.

If ladies could not pray in public even in their own meetings, they could sew for charitable purposes. Perhaps the earliest notice of anything of that sort in this church is an item in a New Haven newspaper of March 1773, stating that recently the ladies of the Fair Haven Parish had met at the home of the minister and presented his wife with 109 skeins of "well spun linen." And to show their patriotism after "having drunk tea as usual upon such occasions . . . [they] unanimously came into this resolution (as recommended in the Third Article of the Association of the

¹ An assessment list of members of the White Haven Society dated 1788, contains the names of four women.

Continental Congress), that they would drink no more of that pernicious weed till the late oppressive acts of the British Parliament are dissolved."

Early in the 19th century organizations of women were formed. A "Female Charitable Society" was active in this church. Dwight's "Statistical Account of New Haven" states that such a society was connected with each congregation in the city. Besides the school for poor female children maintained by each, the women of the two "Presbyterian"² churches established a school for female black children. They also distributed clothes and other necessities to women and children of poor families.

An organization called the "Society for the Relief of Indigent Female Professors of Religion" was formed in 1814 by the ladies of the two Congregational churches of New Haven. It was soon known as the "Dorcas Society." Its constitution, a few leaves of printed matter bound in blue paper, stated that the annual dues were seventy-five cents, life membership \$12.50. Besides this source of revenue and additional gifts, money was earned by making and selling comfortables. The Society thus acquired some property, including \$300 lost in the failure of the Eagle Bank. The church helped, voting in 1814, for example, fifteen dollars towards paying house rent for the poor members of the church under their care. Dorcas House, which stood on Wall Street near Orange Street, was used as a distributing center and as a home for the destitute. The report of the Society for the year 1816 mentioned some inmates by name and stated that "the inhabitants of the Dorcas House live together in the utmost harmony and friendship and appear to act in conformity to the rules laid by our blessed Saviour." The report for 1814 mentioned articles of furniture bought for this house, and in 1818 the church voted twelve dollars for the support of a woman there.

According to the constitution of the society, meetings were to be few, every two months in winter and once a month in summer, an interesting reversal of the custom today, perhaps due to lack of heat in winter and of vacations in summer. A report of 1816, however, said that the society had met once a month and made, mended, and distributed 225 garments. The society also gave out coal and wood, sugar, tea, tracts and Bibles, among other things,

² The terms "Presbyterian" and "Congregational" were used interchangeably at this time.

such as comfortables and bed-quilts and sometimes money. The constitution soon added an article that people were to be helped only after careful inquiry into their fitness by a committee appointed for this purpose, and that "a particular regard shall be paid to those, who are industrious and disposed to perform the best business in their power." Employment was to be furnished, and "No one who refuses to make every effort in her power for her own support is to be aided by this Society." At one time wool was given out "which has furnished employment for industrious women." A report of 1850 stated that the value of articles which had been donated to the poor since 1832, "estimating the labor at a very low rate amounts to \$1350."

The officers of the society were a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, thirteen managers (later twenty), a "soliciting committee" of four persons, and an "examining committee" to audit the accounts. One of the duties of the president was to "propose questions named for discussion, and procure some suitable address or sermon to be read at the general meetings." It may be remarked that many years later at a meeting of one of the women's societies, "It was proposed among other things to have something bright and interesting without being strictly 'missionary' at some of the meetings towards the close."

The society was dissolved in 1877, and money which had accumulated was divided between the women of the two churches. The North Church share was \$550. After ten years it amounted to \$762.82, later made up to \$800, and was put in charge of the church treasurer. For several years the interest was distributed by a committee of ladies. It is now one of the funds used for parish relief.

In 1853 an organization of women in the North Church alone was formed, at a meeting presided over by the pastor. This was called the "Ladies Benevolent Society," and undertook something more than working for the poor and for missions, that is, to try to promote "the unity of the congregation by social gatherings." This statement was made two years before the "Young Men's Association" announced a similar plan. Perhaps the necessity for this effort was felt because of the great additions to church membership from revivals; perhaps a new social consciousness was becoming aroused.

The meetings of the organization were held in the lecture room over the vestibule of the church once a fortnight. Occasional references to its social programme are made in the seventies, such as four church sociables in 1873—held in private houses—apparently with success, for the next year such meetings were held every three or four weeks. The entertainment was music, recitations and refreshments. This feature of the work of the women's society tended to become more prominent and was recognized by the officers of the church as of great value. After experiments had been tried of various kinds of social gatherings, teas or suppers, as they were called, were evolved in the last decade of the century. They were given every month or six weeks on Friday evenings, attendance often reaching 300. Six such affairs with an average attendance of 220 were mentioned in the annual report of the church for 1895. These occasions were usually enlivened by some kind of entertainment given by the young people.

Similar social gatherings were started in the Third Church. A letter from a member, dated October 24, 1883, says, "The ladies [of the sewing society] have made a new departure and are going to stay to supper and have the gentlemen come." This was not, however, the first attempt of the kind, for in 1864 the woman's society of the church voted to invite the congregation to take tea with them once a month. In 1880 the annual rental of pews was made the occasion of a social gathering.

The Ladies Benevolent Society of the North Church continued until 1884, when union with the Third Church necessitated new arrangements. At the same time was ended the Ladies Home Missionary Society, founded in 1862. In 1884 the Ladies Aid Society of the United Church was formed. For financial convenience, it was incorporated "for the purpose of home missionary work," with the right to hold property "not exceeding an income of \$5000.00 a year." Its object was stated to be "to extend aid to the needy, especially to those who are engaged in missionary work in any part of our own land, and to bring members of the congregation together for better acquaintance." One of the first members of the society formed in 1853 was Miss Sarah Booth, later Mrs. Henry E. Champion. She had the remarkable record of sixty-three years active membership in the various organizations, holding office as president for eighteen years.

In 1876 an account of the activities of the women's society was sent to the Centennial Exposition to help illustrate the work accomplished by American women.

Numerous rearrangements of their organizations, under numerous names and with numerous inter-relationships have been made, but in general the women of the church have worked in three departments—Home and Foreign Missionary Societies, and groups of young women. A detailed account of the many changes in name and experiments in organization, almost legion, would belong in a special history. For example, one catalogue, that of 1913, lists the following societies of women in the church: The Woman's Association, The Ladies Aid Society (Home Missions), the United Church Auxiliary W. B. F. M., New Haven Branch (Foreign Missions), the Woman's League (church and local charities), and in the Young Ladies' department two Loani Circles and a girls' group.

In 1931 all the different groups were brought into one body under an old name, the Ladies' Aid Society. According to the constitution drawn up at the time, "the purpose of this Corporation shall be to promote the fellowship and welfare of the United Church of New Haven; to bring the women of the church into fullest cooperation in all its activities, especially missionary interests (local, national, and foreign) and social service work; and to further any other proper charitable activity." As at present organized under the usual officers, it works under a large number of committees, each with a chairman annually elected.

In 1933 the Society adopted the principle of direct giving of money in place of raising it by fairs, sales, etc., but it has become necessary to supplement the pledges by an annual money-raising enterprise. In reality the social benefits of such activities are as valuable as the funds raised by them. An account of the devices invented and employed by the women of the various societies for raising money during the years would be a record of ingenuity and of changing fashions. They range from "kettle-drums," Dime Sociables, and harvest festivals, through "pink teas" to bridge parties.

Young women of the church have been more or less continuously organized in their own groups, doing some work of their own and helping the older women in many ways. The "Young Ladies' Mission Circle" was formed April, 1884, by union of

similar organizations in the Third and North Churches. Early in March a reception had been given to welcome the Third Church circle, which was attended by two hundred persons. There was an entertainment, consisting of a piano duet, followed by "quartette and warble by the Yale Glee Club." After a recitation, cake, coffee, and chocolate were served.

In 1904 the Mission Circle decided to join the Ladies' Aid Society but to keep its own name and organization; in 1908 it became the Woman's League, with special interest in church and local charities. The work done by the young women has been as varied as the names of their organizations. They have given entertainments, sent boxes to schools in the South, arranged and distributed the flowers in the church, dressed dolls for the City Mission, and distributed Thanksgiving dinners. They have carried out the original plan to respond as far as possible to every request for help made by the church.

In 1909 the Loani Circle was formed, with eight charter members from among the young women. It soon grew to twenty-five, with an average of twelve in attendance at bi-weekly meetings. The logical descendant of the various organizations of young women is the present Social Service group, one of the committees of the general society. The vitality of its leadership has absorbed many of the practical activities of both younger and older women.

In 1932 business and professional women who could not meet during the day formed the "Young Woman's Guild," now called the "United Church Guild." It meets regularly for parties and social intercourse and works for various causes. There have been also at times Young Ladies Bible Classes, and, somewhat ahead of most things of the sort, a Young Woman's Gymnasium class is reported in the church catalogue for 1897.

Women of the Third Church were similarly organized and followed similar aims. In 1862, in response to an appeal in behalf of the Rev. Robert Scott, a missionary in Missouri, the ladies met and agreed to form a permanent organization, the Ladies' Home Missionary Association. Its constitution stated that its object was "to assist feeble churches and needy ministers with their families and such other incipient enterprises as may require aid." They soon began inviting the congregation to meet with them in a social way, "in the hope of increasing this Association; and of furthering the interests of the Church and Society."

There were in this church, besides this Society, the Ladies Sewing Circle, the Young Ladies Missionary Society, and the Circle of Industry. At one time a Young Ladies Association for Prayer was in existence. They also raised money for their work in the church and in missions. They did this, said the pastor approvingly of one enterprise, according to "honorable principles and with entire decorum, without resorting to a raffle or a lottery."

Work for young people has taken almost as many forms as the women's societies. In 1794 in response to a request by the General Association, the White Haven Church voted that the minister should meet the young people in fortnightly conferences of prayer and discussion and instruct them in the evidences, doctrines, and duties of Christianity. It was arranged that young men and young women meet separately at his house every alternate fortnight.

Later, besides the separate groups of young men and young women, there are reports of organizations like the "Young People's Union" of the North Church. This was started in 1873 with forty-four members, increased to ninety-five by the end of a year. It is prophetic that its list of officers consisted of four men who were to be leaders in the church and closely associated for many years, two of them in the positions held in this society, Albert S. Holt, president, William J. Weld, vice-president, Charles E. P. Sanford, secretary, and Walter B. Law, treasurer. The constitution, for like the other organizations, it started bravely with one, stated its object to be "to unite the young people of our Church in earnest and systematic Christian labor, under the direction and advice of our pastor, and to advance social interests." Meetings for religious exercises took place on Friday evenings in the lecture rooms of the church and there was also a Sunday evening prayer meeting for young people. Women were not only members, but participated, in one meeting at least, a Promise Meeting, February 20, 1874. Sociables were held in the lecture room.

Various casualties befell their attempts to meet. ' On one occasion the room was so cold that the meeting was cut short. At another time a meeting scheduled to be held before the Preparatory Lecture had to be omitted because the sexton failed to open the church, an omission that could never have happened under Mr. Lindwall, "the perfect sexton." A torchlight procession inter-

ferred with another. At the fourth annual meeting, December, 1877, only five of the seventy members appeared, the records unfortunately not mentioning the name of the one devoted and faithful non-office-holding attendant. The secretary, Mr. Sanford, closed the records in characteristic fashion as follows: "Taking this attendance as an index of the affection the members have for the union and its objects, those present thought it best to consider the Young People's Union of the North Church no longer in existence." There are, however, suggestions in 1878 and 1880 of this or a similar organization. The church report for 1878 tells of social gatherings of the recently formed Young People's Literary Society of the church. It and the Ladies Aid Society often met together. In 1880 there is a report of the appointment of a leader for singing. Deacon Thorne, in the annual meeting, January, 1886, mentioned a young people's prayer meeting Sunday evenings just before the church service. A printed card for the spring of 1883 gives the names of leaders and subjects for the weekly meetings held at six-thirty p.m. every Sunday in the Chapel. Familiar names are C. E. P. Sanford, and those of two younger men active in church works, S. F. Punderson and E. B. Murray.

The young people of the Third Church were joined in a similar "Young People's Association" for the purpose "of advancing the spiritual interests of the young people of our church and society." They held prayer meetings every Sunday at the close of the afternoon service, and once in two months a week day meeting either in one of the rooms of the church or in private homes. After devotional exercises and the transaction of business, the remainder of the time might be spent in an informal, social manner, but games and plays were not allowed and the meeting must end by ten o'clock.

Soon after the union of the two churches the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor was started at a meeting in the Chapel, March 24, 1885, with a large number of active and associate members. The founder of the general movement said he had been led to form the organization by reading Horace Bushnell's "Christian Nurture." Its aim was to follow that teaching and supplement the Sunday School by bringing young people into active church work and training them as they became old enough. Dr. Munger said, "We are training up a set of young people, who, instead of morbidly searching their hearts for evidences of

conversion, are engaged in good works." The names of some of those thus brought forward prove the success of the policy. An early president was Mr. Walter R. Downs, other workers were Mr. James H. Mansfield, Mr. Livingston W. Cleaveland, Miss Caroline Richardson, Miss Harriette Marsh, and many others who became leaders in the church. The branch in the United Church was asked to provide a leader once a month for the church prayer meeting, and groups of members were formed to sing at these meetings. The society flourished, having at one time a membership of 169, divided into active, associate, honorary, and junior members. In 1923 it had an average attendance of forty-five to sixty.

Besides meeting in the Parish House every Sunday evening, it conducted meetings once a month and sometimes once a week at English Hall; at the Old Ladies Home; at the Goffe Street Mission; and neighborhood prayer meetings for those not able to go to church. It held sociables and often made its annual meeting a supper meeting. Among its activities were raising money for missions, conducting a mission study class, and working for temperance. A Junior Society met Tuesday afternoons and later on Sunday afternoons. To support its work the society at first took collections at meetings, but in 1889 adopted the pledge system, in 1895, for example, raising \$225 in this way.

After an active and honorable existence of about forty years this organization took its place among those which have had their day and ceased to be.

But organizations for young people were not ended. They took other forms, and young people's clubs and study and discussion groups have come into existence since then. At present there are clubs for those of Senior High School age, for college students, and for young married people. In 1934 the Young People's Council was set up, composed of representatives of all the organizations of young people in the church.

It is more than coincidence that so many of the organizations formed throughout the years mention as an important aim the cultivation of the social life of the church, and bringing about a better acquaintance among the people.

CHAPTER VII

TRAINING OF THE YOUNG

Of all the organizations in the church perhaps the most important is the Sunday School. The earliest reference to the young in the church records is an entry of October, 1750, of the appointment of two men of the White Haven Society to "take Special Care of y^e youth to prevent all such disorders on the Sabbath as they are Incident to for the three ensuing months and untill others be chosen." But merely keeping order has not been regarded as the whole duty of the church towards its children. Even before the disestablishment of 1818 necessitated modification of religious instruction in the public schools, a beginning, other than occasional instruction by the minister, had been made in religious education of children under the auspices of the churches in New Haven.

Between 1816 and 1820 the Sunday School movement, which had originated in England in the 18th century, began to spread in this country, not only to train the young, but through them to reach their parents and rouse public interest in religion. The first evidence of the movement in the North Church is a certificate given to Minott Thompson in 1817, "a member of the Sabbath School of the United Society," that stated that he "had committed to memory forty-seven verses of Scripture and nine hymns, and for good behavior merited the approbation of his teachers."¹ In May, 1818, the church voted itself into an Association for the "patronage, encouragement and support of the Sabbath School of the United Society," and in the following July a committee was appointed to consider what measures could be adopted for advancing the religious training of children. They went to the foundations of the matter by also requesting one Brother "to prepare a manual or summary of parental and filial duties for the use of members of this church." Unfortunately no copy of this manual, if it was ever drawn, has been found.

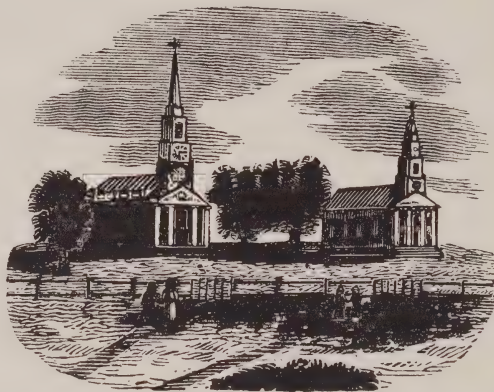
¹ Quoted in "A Puritan Church," O. E. Maurer, pp. 91-92.

Just as the women of the Center and North Churches had joined in the Dorcas Society, so our earliest organization that can properly be called a Sunday School was a joint undertaking, with members from other churches. An account of this undertaking is given in an unpublished "History of the Center Church Sabbath School," prepared by the Rev. Almeda C. Vickery, quoting in this case from a paper by Dr. William L. Bradley, Superintendent of the Church School, read at the annual meeting of the Center Church, 1877. From that paper as given by Miss Vickery, the following facts and quotations are taken. The "New Haven Union Sabbath School" was founded August 4, 1822. Before that time children met to recite the catechism, verses, and hymns in a gathering that was somewhat incorrectly called a Sabbath School, for these classes met only part of the year and not at all in the cold months. The Union School was organized with regular officers and teachers and met throughout the year.

"Preparatory to the organization of the Union School," continued Dr. Bradley, "several meetings of gentlemen interested in the project were held at the office of Messrs. N and S. S. Jocelyn in 'Bradley's Building,' which was formerly upon the site now occupied by the Yale National Bank. Mr. Timothy Dwight Williams is acknowledged to have been the leading spirit of the movement. Mr. Williams and Mr. Nathaniel Jocelyn had recently become acquainted with the modern system of Sabbath Schools, while residing temporarily in the South, the former in Charleston and the latter in Savannah." Dr. Bradley gave the names of twelve men present at this meeting. They included men from the Congregational, Episcopal, Methodist, and Baptist Churches of New Haven. North Church was represented by Amos Townsend, Jr., Simeon and Nathaniel Jocelyn, and William K. Townsend. James E. P. Dean was later member and deacon of the Third Church.

As a result of the efforts of these men the Union School was organized with ninety scholars, and with teachers and officers, including two superintendents—Mr. Timothy Dwight Williams from Center Church and Miss Sally Hotchkiss from the North Church. The school met in the conference room of the Center Church, in the upper room of a wooden building on Orange Street. The sessions were held in the morning, the scholars coming mainly from the Center and North Churches. The exer-

NORTH SABBATH SCHOOL



“Come thou with us and we will do thee good.”—Num. x. 29.

Lucey Bassett merits and receives

this certificate as a token of approbation for the kindness

shown to *Nancy Jeffreys*

by introducing *her* into the North Sabbath School.

J. J. Larnaud Superintendent.

NEW-HAVEN, *March 21* 1830

cises consisted in prayer, singing, Bible study, and occasionally a closing address. After school the children marched to their respective churches. Towards the close of 1823 the school moved to the galleries of Center Church, probably because in that year heat was introduced into the building. In January 1829, the Union School was divided into independent Sabbath Schools. It may be remarked that by this time the North Church also was heated. The North Church Sabbath School elected as Principal Frank T. Jarman, who had been a teacher in the Union School. He held the office of superintendent until he died in July, 1841. His monument says, "Erected by the Sabbath School Association of the North Church, of which he was for twelve years the Superintendent." In that year (1829) the church voted to raise ten dollars to make the pastor a life member of the American Sunday School Union, recently founded.

The first official report of the North Church Sunday School that has been preserved, that of the year 1834, a printed pamphlet, gives statistics for the preceding year. Besides large adult classes, the school numbered 260—111 boys, 149 girls, 50 teachers (26 men, 24 women). Children from outside the church membership, from the poor of the city, attended, some of them unable to read. According to this report, teachers made wide visitations to gather in neglected children and try to reach the parents through them. This was in accordance with the aim of Sunday Schools, as originally conceived by Robert Raikes. Two men connected with the North and Third Churches, especially fired with missionary zeal, Amos Townsend, Jr., and Timothy Dwight, started such work in other parts of the city. All through the years this was done, the church acting, consciously or unconsciously, on the assumption that it had a municipal obligation. The Third Church felt the same impulse, and in 1876 appointed a committee to visit strangers and families of the congregation where children did not attend Sunday School. In 1877 teachers of the North Church were still urged to go out after the several thousand children not enrolled in the Sunday Schools. In October, 1891, the city was divided into districts for such visitation. The success of these efforts is shown by the fact that later it was reported that of the 407 children in the school only ninety were children of members of the church.

In the early years, the days of revivals, teachers were instructed to make the conversion of their pupils an object of their efforts. It may be remarked in this connection that of the teachers themselves in the Union Sunday School at least six had been converted in the revival of 1821. The report of 1834 stressed "the duty of laboring directly for the conversion of the impenitent members of the Sabbath School, and of urging upon them the duty of repentance, as one of immediate, and of ever pressing obligation." Facts were cited to dispel doubts as to whether "children are capable of exhibiting decisive evidence of Christian character." Nor were teachers alone to work for this. When converted, children themselves were urged to try to convert other children. Examples were given of their activities in this direction and of prayer meetings held by youthful converts.

In carrying out this policy, a teacher reported that one day the lesson was omitted and the time entirely devoted to the work of conversion. Most of this particular Sunday School report is taken up with consideration of the visible results of these efforts. A record of conversions was carefully kept. In 1834 seventeen had been converted and twelve had made public profession of their "change of heart." In 1840 there were sixteen conversions, seven of whom were members of the Bible class. Of the sixty-one who joined the church in 1858 thirty-one were from the Sunday School; nineteen were converted and joined the church in 1865, of whom four-fifths were from the Sunday School; sixteen in 1867; ten below the age of twenty in 1874; nine of the eleven joining the church in 1877; and, as good results of the Moody and Sankey meetings, about half of the fifty that joined in 1878 were Sunday School scholars. "Hence," it was justly claimed, that for the church the Sunday School "is its great spiritual nursery and reservoir, her right arm."

Similar results were seen in the Third Church. Of the twenty-eight who joined in 1867, ten were from the Sunday School. The annual meeting in January, 1876, reported fourteen "hopeful conversions" in the Sunday School.

In the early days the younger pupils studied the New Testament, the older ones the history of the Israelites. One lesson book used in the Union Sabbath School has been preserved in the collections of Center Church "Lessons for Schools Taken from the Holy Scriptures In the Words of the Text Without Note or

Comment. In 3 parts. Stereotyped for the New York Free School Society by H. Wallis—402 Broome Street, 1822.”²

In 1853 the Third Church Sunday School studied Matthew in connection with Jacobus' Commentary. Perhaps there is no relation between this statement and the one following that attendance was less than formerly. An illustrated lesson book, printed for the North Church, November, 1871, has six lessons on Joseph, which consist of a number of questions, each with a reference to the Bible. The Olivet Mission³ adopted lessons issued in connection with the Sunday School Magazine of Chicago. At a later period, classes were graded, the number of grades being increased from time to time, with graduation from one department to another. In 1891 the school was divided into three departments, Primary, Intermediate, and Bible. From then on came rapid development, under the ten-year superintendency of Mr. Walter R. Downs, from 1893 to 1903. In 1893 the Blaksee lessons were introduced; in 1895, a Junior department was added; in 1898 Kindergarten and Pleasant Sunday Afternoon classes; in 1899, a Normal Class and Cradle Roll; in 1902, a Home Department; in 1903, a Young People's class. "We have a place," it was said, "in our school for every attendant of our church from the oldest to the youngest."

Numbers grew at an equal rate, from 420 in 1893 to 892 in 1903, many of whom, however, belonged to the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Class (225 at one time), and others in large numbers to the Orphan Asylum. This institution sent children to the Sunday School from November, 1871, until their new buildings gave them a place of their own in 1925. They were a familiar sight in the north gallery of the church at the morning service.

The goal of the school changed with the modification in church policy following the abandonment of the revival system. Instead of aiming to convert the young by a definite experience, the teaching was planned to "give normal development to religious instincts." As the school grew in numbers and organization, special workers were employed to devote time and effort to its development along the lines of modern education. Miss Frances Walkley came first, 1900 to 1904, followed by Mrs. Cutting, who worked in both the church and the Sunday School from 1910 to 1919 and

² Vickery, History of the Sabbath School of Center Church, p. 9.

³ Connected with the Third Church.

again in 1923. Beginning in 1915, Directors of Religious Education were appointed—Benjamin F. Winchester, 1915 to 1917; H. Shelton Smith, 1921 to 1923; Milton Stacey Czatt, 1924 to 1926; Robert L. Calhoun, 1926 to 1928; Harold B. Hunting 1928–1932; and Hughbert H. Landram, 1934—.

At a special meeting of the church held on April 15, 1930, it was voted to form a joint Sunday School with Center Church. Decrease in attendance seemed to call for such a measure. A union school had been discussed fifteen years earlier by Mr. Maurer and Mr. Denison and again in 1923 and 1925. Quite definite proposals made in 1928 were postponed to give the new Associate Minister opportunity to become acquainted with the field and to make suggestions. The history of the successful outcome of the movement is given in the Prospectus for the school for 1941–1942. "The adventure in religious education known as the United and Center School began on October 5, 1930. For over two years committees from the two churches had been considering such a project. It was felt that by pooling the resources there would be enough pupils for a completely graded school with interesting classes for all ages, and that better trained teachers could be secured. . . . The Church of Christ in Yale University joined forces in 1931, and the joint Board of Religious Education was increased from six to nine in addition to the ministers of the three churches."

From the simple beginnings of learning hymns and Bible verses, the school soon branched out beyond meetings on Sundays, just as the church was broadening its activities to include more than preaching on Sundays. In 1835 it was reported that a Missionary Association connected with the school had been in existence more than two years. Money was collected for the conversion of the heathen. The occasion for beginning contributions by Sunday Schools seems to have been the appeal, in 1824 of the Rev. Dr. Goodell, missionary at Beirut, Syria, to help continue a school for Arab boys.⁴ Special monthly or quarterly meetings, with recitations and singing, devoted part of the programme to missions and part to a review of the lessons of the last quarter.

By 1840 the school had a library. In 1839 there was a Fourth of July celebration, and before many years Sunday School picnics

⁴ Vickery, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

had become an institution. In 1851, a Children's Celebration on the Green was attended by two or three thousand children. Four years later children of the Congregational, Methodist, and Baptist churches and from several of the Mission Sunday Schools assembled in the North Church. In June 1869, at the twenty-seventh annual meeting of the New Haven Sunday School Union six thousand children formed a procession to the Green, where they joined in singing under the direction of Mr. Jepson. One of the five marshals was John G. North of the North Church. A Rally Day in 1895 included children of all sects. They paraded to the center of the city and gathered in a great mass meeting which nearly covered the lower Green.

Suggestions were made first in 1859, and from time to time subsequently, to have the Sunday School session replace the Sunday afternoon service, putting the latter in the evening. An arrangement was made in 1863 that the afternoon service should be omitted, either once a month, or six times a year. The idea of the whole church joining in the study of the Bible on Sunday afternoons "as a means of preaching the Gospel" attracted many, but attempts to carry this out were abandoned after a few years. As has been seen, it was done later in a different way, by providing classes in the school for people of all ages.

In this connection further mention should be made of the unique class held on Sunday afternoons at four o'clock, for women who were unable to attend the other services in the church. While superintendent of the Sunday School, Mr. Downs, among others, suggested doing something for the mothers of the many poor children in the school. In response to this need, an afternoon class was started by Mrs. Munger and a group of women on Sunday, April 7, 1898. For several years it filled a large place, and showed phenomenal growth. Besides talks on themes from the Bible, some subjects were, "Some Homes I have Seen," at the first meeting, "Aids to Good Health," and topics helpful to mothers. With changing conditions, the class has shrunk to small numbers, but in spite of doubts expressed at various times as to its value today, it is still attended by one or two of the original members and fills an important place in their lives. So great was the interest at one period that two legacies of one hundred dollars each were left for the benefit of the class. Changes in the character of the population of the city and the response of the church

to this condition are illustrated by the fact that in 1912 membership in this class represented twelve nationalities.

Before the Parish House, or the Chapel as it was long called, was acquired, the Sunday School met in the church building, usually starting at nine o'clock in the morning in the lecture room. After opening exercises of a quarter of an hour, the classes of boys and girls went into the galleries. In 1861 they were moved to the floor of the church, but in 1866 after the building was renovated, were sent back to the galleries as owners of pews feared the children would injure the paint. The boys met on the south side, the girls on the north, and teachers were obliged to kneel on the seats in front of the classes in order to face them. No wonder they petitioned to be allowed to return to the floor of the church, and that sentiment grew to acquire a more suitable place for Sunday School work and for other activities of the church. Later the Sunday School met immediately after morning service.

As early as 1841 the Society considered the expediency of building a new lecture room, but found it impracticable at that time on account of the cost. In 1867, the question was revived, and the alternatives were discussed whether to erect a new building, or to raise the church and make it possible to have such a room in the basement. Need was increasingly felt for places to hold meetings and furnish a study for the pastor. Two years later the Society progressed to the point of considering the purchase of a lot on which to erect a new building. A newspaper clipping, June, 1869, states that the minister, Mr. Clark, was stirring up his people to build a chapel, long needed, and added, "There is little doubt he will succeed. The wonder is that such large and wealthy churches as we have in New Haven should so long have permitted such a lack of conveniences for Sabbath School worship."

Instead of putting up a new building, it was possible a few years later, through the generous provisions of a will, for the church to buy a large house on Temple Street, not far from Elm Street and near the church edifice, which could be used for its activities. The report of 1877 states that the school was meeting in the new chapel, but that as the attendance was too large for the building, the infant class was held in the lecture room of the church. An interesting commentary on changing ideas occurs in the report of 1880. The school, it was said, scattered in six

different rooms, was prevented from developing anything like unity or strength of purpose. The oldest should meet with the youngest, said this report.

Responsibility to the city in the matter of Sunday Schools was felt by the churches in another way than by bringing stray children into their own schools. In early years, as has been said, the North and Center Churches maintained a school for colored children for several years. Later they also went out and established mission schools in other parts of the city. In 1858 the church appointed a committee to consider the question of missionary and Sunday School work in the northwest part of the city. Plenty of need was found, but no place of meeting. In the next year, a building on Canal Street was rented and the first session held, with the pastor and others helping. Mr. John G. North, a great Sunday School worker, was superintendent, with fifteen officers and teachers and four scholars. The school met with much opposition at first. Nevertheless, the building was soon outgrown and in 1860 the church began to raise subscriptions for a mission chapel. \$1700 was soon collected, a lot bought on Dixwell Avenue for \$1200 and a chapel built at a cost of \$2900, including insurance for five years and the expenses of dedication. The debt was paid off largely through the efforts of one of the deacons, Mr. Atwater Treat. Mission school expenses were provided from year to year by the church or society. In 1868 the school had 254 pupils, and twenty-six teachers; in 1870, 140 pupils. Its activities were much like those of the home school, with teachers' meetings, adult and infant classes, and monthly meetings with recitations and songs.

The property was held by three trustees until 1871 when it was deeded to the United Society. In November, 1885, it was sold to the Temple Street Ecclesiastical Society for \$3050, and the money invested as the Dixwell Avenue Fund. The income was applied to the expense of the mission which was continued on Goffe Street at the corner of Sperry Street. At various times there was discussion about giving it up, and at length in 1890 it was decided to abandon it, and to consolidate all the Sunday School work in the chapel on Temple Street, applying the income of the fund to the salaries of the Assistant Pastor and the Sunday School worker.

The Third Church had a Sunday School with similar characteristics and a similar history. In 1882, shortly before the union of the two churches, it reported a membership of 350, which included a Bible Class of 128. The average attendance was 175. Its library at the time of union was larger than that of the North Church school, 562 books to their 194. It too had a mission school, the Olivet Mission, in "a neat and commodious chapel on William Street," founded about 1860, which was reported in 1866 to have an average attendance of seventy or eighty. It was given up in 1873 because the district no longer needed it, the building was sold to a Polish Society and the furniture to the Center Church mission. The reports of its work at the annual meeting of the church were given for a number of years by Robert A. Hume, its secretary and treasurer.

Members of both churches were interested in other enterprises of a similar nature, such as a Bible class at the jail and the work of a colporteur. About 1850 interest was felt in plans for a City Mission, to be supported by all the churches. Among the workers when it was finally started, was Miss Sarah J. Hume, a member first of the Third Church, then of the North. She was city missionary for fourteen years.

Bible classes have been held more or less continuously since the Sunday School was started. In the early days of enthusiasm for this movement, classes flourished. In 1834 there was a class of twenty-six men in the Sunday School. Thirty-five years later it was reported that men's Bible classes were large, "especially that composed of Young Men . . . and the fact that so many, not only of Young Men, but men in their prime, make the study of the Bible, their regular Sabbath work, is peculiarly significant." These classes have not always been so flourishing, except temporarily as a result of the efforts of a particular leader, or some particular plan. In the last years of the 19th century the minister said, "I have not yet been able to discover the path by which I might lead men of the church into this class." In 1896 the study of Church History was tried. There have also been classes for women. In 1834 one was reported with fifty-seven members. This was continued through the years. Among effective leaders was Mrs. George W. Curtis, who conducted a large class for twenty years. Finally men and women began meeting together in

The church has always been interested in educational projects other than its own Sunday School and the Mission Schools. While in one sense not a part of the church life, for some years the church or its members contributed money towards educating 'pious but indigent young men' for the ministry. In 1821 a committee was appointed to determine what could be done to this end, and in March, 1822, the church formed itself into an educational society to support one or more beneficiaries at Yale. Each was to receive \$100, the money to be raised by subscription. Other committees arranged for collecting the money and drew up general plans. In Yale College Reports on Indigent and Pious Students are listed several payments from this church and from individual members. The women of the church helped this cause through their own organization, "The Female Cent Society." Such societies received clerical approval and assistance, since there were not enough ministers to supply the needs. Cent societies, these gentlemen agreed, were not burdensome to the pocketbook, did not interfere with other charities and were useful because, said they, producing a proverb in Poor Richard fashion, many mites make much. A committee of ministers was appointed from the local Association to draw up a plan for the ladies, and another committee, of which Mr. Merwin was a member, had the pleasant task of choosing the beneficiaries and doubtless giving each his share of the accumulated mites.

Interest in educational work later took the form of contributing to educational societies or institutions. In 1867 the North Church decided on a scheme of stated contributions, one organization each month receiving help. The list for the year is typical of many in this and the Third Church, several of the organizations appearing year after year.

January—The American Tract Society
 February—The Missionary Association
 March—The Educational Society } alternate
 The Western College Society } years
 April—The American Bible Society
 May—The same and the Sunday School Union
 June—The same and the Foreign Christian Union

July—The Congregational Union

August—Occasional Charities

September—Home and Mission Sunday School

October—The Seaman's Friend Society.

November—Home Missions

December—Foreign Missions

Response to the needs of these educational and missionary projects increased from the small beginnings of the Female Cent Societies. In 1863 Mr. Dutton recorded its progress. "Though the church and congregation were among the more advanced in evangelical benevolence at the time of my ordination, your contributions have been much increased—about doubled."

CHAPTER VIII

MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES AND INTERESTS OF THE CHURCH

The church, said one of the ministers, "feeds all good institutions, generating the conscience that supports them," and, "the only possible description of it [religion] is to be gained by its manifestations and especially by its works." One of the earliest activities in which the church engaged was the great missionary movement, both foreign and domestic, which started in the first years of the 19th century. In the latter part of the preceding century, ministers stationed in the older parts of the country went on "missionary tours" to the new settlements that were forming towards the west and north. Before Allyn Mather came to the Fair Haven Church, he had been on two missions to the Indians. In 1791 Jonathan Edwards, Jr., of the White Haven Church went on a tour to the western part of New York state, where he organized three churches, one or two of them with his pupils as ministers. There was need for help nearer home also, in the "waste places" of Connecticut. A Domestic Missionary Society of Connecticut was formed to meet this situation, and contributions were made to its work from early days.

The work of Home Missions, which included both these fields, has always been of great interest to our church. Money has continuously been given to organizations engaged in this work, especially, as has been seen, to those devoted to education. The attitude of the church was expressed in a sermon preached on the 230th anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims. On that occasion Mr. Dutton said, "And, widely as our aid can reach through our land, especially in the more newly organized and more destitute commonwealths which are stretching towards the Pacific, let us establish churches, schools, and colleges for the intellectual, moral and Christian culture of the whole nation. This is the Puritan policy and wisdom."

Many individuals went out on their own initiative to various parts of the home missionary field for longer or shorter periods.

As they were not commissioned by any central board, the records about them are imperfect. One or two names may be mentioned by way of example. In 1847 David Breed of the Third Church went on a mission to the Choctaws, and in 1851 Joseph Romell was ordained as a missionary to Panama under the American Seamen's Friend Society and the American and Foreign Christian Union. In 1881, the Rev. Herbert Thrall of the North Church was ordained as a member of the Dakota Band, and he and his family were dismissed to form a church in Chamberlain, Dakota Territory. Several members of the church went South for missionary work. Miss Bella Hume served with the American Missionary Association at New Orleans. Miss Annie Thomson, the daughter of Deacon Henry W. Thomson, taught in American Missionary Association schools for the negroes in Alabama. Mrs. Charles-Downs, the mother of Walter R. Downs, worked for some time in Talladega College for the Colored, also under the American Missionary Association. Later the church paid the salary of a summer worker at Nucla, Colorado. At present it supports a full-time minister at Craig, Colorado. Women of the church, as has been seen from the story of their societies, have always been especially interested in missionary work in other parts of the United State; they have regularly sent supplies, boxes of clothing, and money to the families of missionaries in these fields. Including Indian workers, so many have been helped in this way, that it is impossible to do more than make such a general statement.

The missionary activity of the church can be more accurately shown in the foreign field, for missionaries there are commissioned by an official body. Modern interest in foreign missions began early in the 19th century. "Sixty years since," wrote Mr. Dutton in 1842, "there were in New England no associations, and few individuals, engaged in missionary labor. . . . Sixty years since, and prayers for the conversion of the world were isolated and dishearted petitions, here and there from the closet, the family altar and the pulpit. . . . Sixty years since, and very little was given for the spread of the gospel." It was said of Deacon Atwater Treat of the North Church who was born in 1801, that he "saw substantially the whole work of modern Missions." People of the North and Third Churches made early and continuous contributions of money. The Board of Commission-

ers of Foreign Missions was established in 1810 and in a sermon preached in 1814 Mr. Merwin first publicly called the attention of the North Church to the subject. Enthusiasm was stimulated by services that were held at the harbor when three newly ordained missionaries of the American board sailed for the Sandwich Islands. Again it was said of Deacon Treat, as it might have been said of many others, that "an abiding interest in the work of the world's evangelization was awakened in him at that time." The first missionary to work there, Hiram Bingham, who "established a Christian civilization" among a savage people, did not go from this church, but attended its services in later years. His daughter Lydia Bingham Coan, born in the Hawaiian Islands, joined the North Church in 1851 during her father's stay in New Haven, but later returned to the Islands as a teacher in a girl's school there. Later she married the Rev. Titus Coan, who had returned to Honolulu after his strenuous labors in other islands. Hiram Bingham himself became an attendant at the North Church after his marriage to his second wife, Naomi Morse, a member. There is no record that he ever joined the church, but it can claim his ashes, for he and his wife are both buried in the lot in Grove Street Cemetery that belongs to it.

Missions were a subject of study in the North church and meetings in their behalf, called monthly concerts of prayer, stimulated and perpetuated the interest. The Third Church was equally devoted to the cause, and by 1858 was raising money for it by the pledge system. Dr. Munger felt the work so important that he regarded its support to be a supreme duty of the church, but the inevitable process of change that is seen in all church activities is suggested by the topic of an address made in 1928 to a woman's meeting: "The Duty of the Church in View of the Changing Attitude toward Missions."

The North Church not only supported Foreign Missions but had its own members in active service, three in 1879, five in 1886, for example.¹ Their names form a long and distinguished list, containing among others those of one of the greatest missionary families, the Humes. The fields of these workers cover the

¹ The material on Foreign Missionaries was prepared by Miss Rose M. Munger. Her excellent biographies are on file in the historical collections of the church, and contain much more information than could be used in this brief account.

world geographically and represent all the aspects of missionary activity—evangelistic, educational, and medical. Churches, hospitals and schools have been built by them which furnish training for bands of native workers and perpetuate the work of their founders in brick and stone.

It is impossible to give in detail the careers of the score of devoted men and women who have carried the message of this church into the uttermost parts of the world. Again a second volume would be required. Chronologically they cover most of the period of the history of modern missions. For this church the record began and is still continuing in the work of the Hume family. The first one, Mrs. Robert W. Hume (1816–1903) was not a member when she sailed with her husband in March, 1839, for Bombay. After fifteen years they were obliged to return to America because of Mr. Hume's health. He died at sea, leaving his wife with six children. She went to her old home in West Springfield, where she remained until it was time for her sons to go to college. The family came to New Haven and in 1864 she and two children, Robert and Sarah, joined the Third Church, the other children joining later. Mrs. Hume became a teacher in the Sunday School, was one of the organizers of the Young Women's Christian Association and helped in the City Mission, but her greatest service was in the missionary work which she soon found to be done at home. In 1870 a meeting in a New Haven parlor of seven women of whom she was one led to the founding of the New Haven Branch of the Woman's Board. To it she gave thirty-two years of service as truly missionary as her years in India had been. By her addresses and her letters to the young societies which were springing up all over Connecticut, she aroused them to the need of the world. For thirty-two years she was Corresponding Secretary of the Branch, in later years most ably helped by her daughter, Mrs. Katharine Hume Miller. It was rightly said of her that "By her life and through those whom she has raised up for service she set forces in operation felt on two continents which make for the redemption of the world."

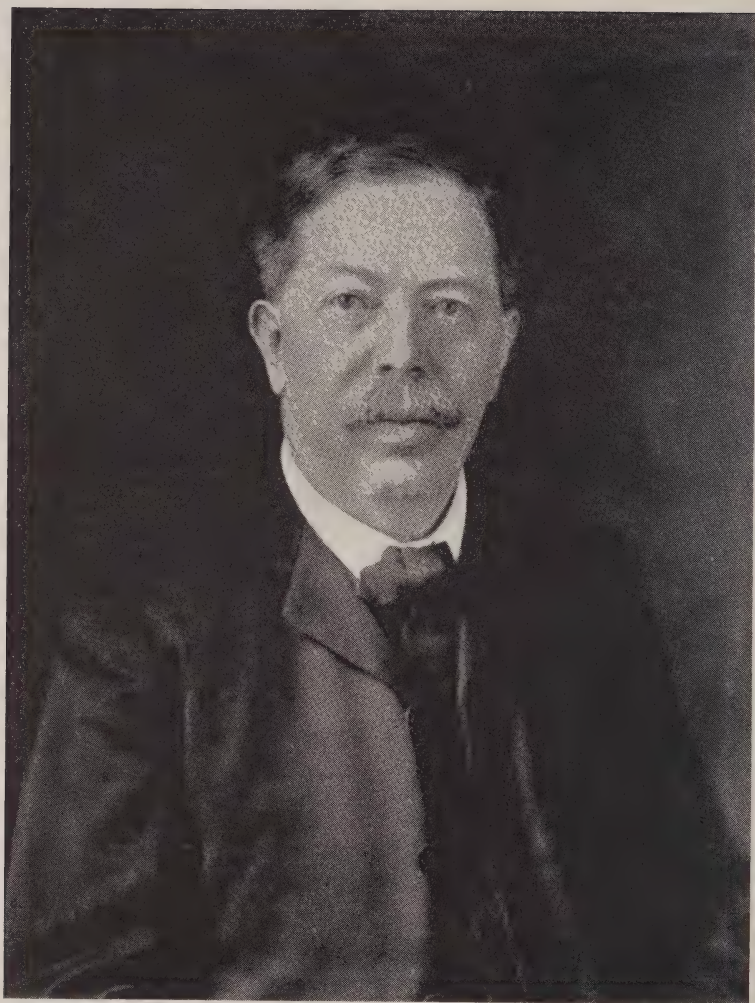
Of her fifteen years in India it should be said that a large portion of her time and that of her husband was given to organizing schools. They started about forty, chiefly day schools, in Bombay and the nearer regions. For ten years Mrs. Hume

carried on in her own home a boarding school for girls. When a son, Edward, returned to India, in 1877, he reopened it at the persuasion of former pupils and it developed into one of the leading High Schools in the Marathi Mission, the Byculla High School with over six hundred pupils.

The most distinguished member of the family, Robert Allan Hume (1847-1929), was ordained in the Third Church, May 9, 1874. He was a missionary from 1874 to 1928, and a member of the Third and United Churches from 1864 to 1929. A graduate of Yale College (1868) as an honor student and of Andover Theological Seminary in 1873, he taught for two years after graduation from Yale, one of them in General Russell's School in New Haven. He sailed for India in August, 1874, with his wife, Abbie Burgess Hume, the daughter of missionaries and grandniece of Mary Lyon. He was assigned to the Ahmednagar District of the Marathi Mission. It was in this same mission that two young people who went later from the church were stationed—Mr. and Mrs. William McCance. Here Mr. Hume found one village church, two preachers, two Bible women, one teacher, and a few other Indian helpers. The Mission buildings were few and inadequate, but in his fifty years there he superintended the erection of eighteen substantial buildings and many smaller ones; churches with trained pastors were organized; many schools were started, till gradually the leadership of all this work was turned over to the Indians.

The church at Ahmednagar, his crowning achievement in church building, can seat 1200 in its auditorium and has other rooms for various purposes. It was built at a cost of \$25,000, all the money coming from Indian and American friends of Mr. Hume. The United Church has a special interest in this church, for the gifts of its members amounted to about \$1600, to which other New Haven friends added over \$300. The United Church also contributed to the Western India Theological School which he founded in 1898 to train Indian pastors. Later it assumed the payment of the entire amount that came to the school from America. This institution was later moved to Poona and its name changed to the United Divinity College.

Mr. Hume found time to do much literary work and in Queen Victoria's last Honor List was awarded a gold medal for dis-



THE REV. ROBERT A. HUME

tinguished public service, especially in connection with relief work in time of famines.

In 1886 when he was about to return to India from a furlough, trouble arose with the American Board over a hope he expressed incidentally in a speech at Andover that the heathen who had never heard of Christ might not be condemned to everlasting perdition. At this time the actual management of the Board was in the hands of good but narrow and very conservative men who felt that such a doctrine would "cut the nerve of missions." When it was rumored that he might not be sent back to India because of his theological views, the United Church acted. A letter signed by the pastor and board of deacons was sent, setting forth Mr. Hume's special and inherited fitness for missionary work, telling of the results which had already come from his labors, and of the unanimous wish of the Mission that he be returned. It questioned the right of the Prudential Committee of the Board to decide the Theological fitness of missionaries and said that this was a matter to be settled by a Church Council regularly called for that purpose. Mr. Hume would not change his views, but after much delay and discussion he was allowed to return to his work "with a gospel of hope instead of doom." The stand taken by the United Church went far to establish the principle that it is the churches only that should decide the theological fitness of their members to be missionaries and not the Board Secretaries. The churches thus regained self-governing functions which they were in danger of losing. The missionaries were assured freedom of thought and action.

By the wish of the Mission Mr. Hume remained in India long after the retiring age. When he returned to America he was active in preaching, speaking, and writing for the cause. He died in 1929 at the age of eighty-two, regarded as "the outstanding missionary of the American Board in his day."

His second wife, Katie Fairbanks Hume, also from a missionary family, shared his work for more than forty years. Four of his children have been missionaries in India—Ruth, in medical work as the representative of Wellesley College; Robert Ernest in educational work, and his wife in teaching nurses and working with women and children; Wilson in Y. M. C. A. work; Hannah Hume Lee Calder as wife of a missionary and later as a missionary herself. A sister, Sarah (1840–1903), who went to India

to care for her brother's motherless children, was never a commissioned missionary, but for five years did the work of one. After her return to America she was for fourteen years city missionary under the Woman's Board of the City Missionary Association. Her special work was among women and children, and one result of her visits to their homes and knowledge of their ignorance and need was the organization of the Visiting Nurse Association.

A brother, the Rev. Edward S. Hume, joined the Third Church in his early boyhood but was later dismissed to Center Church so that his long and useful missionary service belongs to that church. Another sister, Mrs. Katharine Hume Miller, a member of the Third Church in her girlhood and later of the United Church, almost deserves a place among our roll of missionaries for her unwearied labors for Foreign Missions.

An early missionary, member of the North Church, was Dr. Andrew Tully Pratt. Born near Buffalo in 1826, he was graduated from Yale College in 1847, and followed his college course by studying both medicine and theology. Ordained in the church in 1852, he went in that year as a medical missionary to Turkey. He was accompanied by his wife, Sarah Goodyear Pratt, a member of the church. Later they were joined by another member of the church, Helen M. Spencer, Mrs. Pratt's niece. The latter was never a commissioned missionary, but during the nearly twenty years she spent in Turkey she helped in many ways in the work of the mission. Dr. Pratt preached as well as practiced his profession as a physician, and in addition trained native doctors who could carry on the work among their own people. After serving at Aintab, Aleppo, and Marash he was transferred to Constantinople. Here he spent much of his time in literary work, for which his great gift for languages specially fitted him. He helped Dr. Elias Riggs in the revision of the Turkish Bible, and many of the best hymns in Turkish and Armenian were composed by him. He made valuable gifts of ancient coins to the collection in Yale College. The North Church devoted various sums of money to forwarding his work. He died at Constantinople in 1872.

Mrs. Mary Skinner Marsh (later Mrs. Samuel Harris) who went to South Africa in 1847 as the wife of a missionary, though only briefly connected with the church, is of interest as a great-granddaughter of Roger Sherman. Sent to a lonely station in

Zululand, she made a little Zulu-English dictionary for the use of the converts. It was a notable achievement, as one of the very earliest, if not the first work of its kind done there.

In 1874 two members of the church went out to China as missionaries—the Rev. William P. Sprague and his wife. For nearly all the period of their service they were located at Kalgan, an important station in the far north, at that time an eight-day journey from the coast. Their work was interrupted by the Boxer rebellion of 1900, in which he displayed much courage. He remained at Kalgan until 1910, when the station was turned over to the Methodists who had been cooperating with the missionaries of the American Board, and he returned to this country.

Before taking up the work of the next missionaries, it is necessary to go back to the return of Mrs. Robert W. Hume to America after the death of her husband. Mr. Hume was buried at sea off the coast of Africa. During Mrs. Hume's enforced stay in South Africa she met the great Scottish missionary, the Rev. Andrew D. Murray and gave him a copy of the "Life of Mary Lyon." He at once saw that Mt. Holyoke was the type of school needed there, and he urged Mrs. Hume to interest teachers and graduates of that Seminary in starting a "Mount Holyoke in Africa." The result was the founding of the Huguenot College in Wellington to educate white girls of well-to-do and prominent families.

In answer to the appeal to Mount Holyoke, Miss Abbie Ferguson and a friend sailed in September, 1873, and the school, a seminary, was founded in January, 1874. For many years Miss Ferguson was its Principal and to her ability and personality the college, for such it became, owes much of its success in training women who have helped mold the life and thought of South Africa. Miss Ferguson was a member of the Third Church, which she joined by profession in 1859. After her graduation from Mount Holyoke she had come to New Haven as a teacher in a school for girls. Among those whom she influenced to follow her, was her pupil Miss Mary Emma Landfear, also a member of the Third Church, who went to South Africa in 1875, and taught in the Seminary for twenty years. Obligated to return to this country in 1895 because of her mother's frail health, Miss Landfear continued to work for the College by raising money and arousing interest in it. She went to England for this purpose,

and died there in 1914. For two years she taught at Talladega under the American Missionary Association.

Another widow of a missionary who came to New Haven to educate her children was Mrs. Emily Redington Montgomery, who joined the United Church in 1889. Her husband had been pastor of a church at Adana, Turkey, and had been considered one of the ablest missionaries in that country. When the children were educated, Mrs. Montgomery returned to Turkey. The Ladies' Auxiliary of the church tried to secure her as their missionary, but the Vermont branch would not surrender her. During the massacres of 1896 when there were no male missionaries in Adana, she was undaunted and full of joy that she could help her Armenian friends. She died in 1896 at Beirut on her way to Egypt. Of the three years she was in New Haven, Dr. Munger said, "Her influence lives on in the Woman's Prayer Meeting into which she breathed inspiration and in the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Class which was in part due to her sense of its need."

Mr. and Mrs. McCance (Mary D. Sargent), have already been mentioned. Both were members of the church, and on being commissioned as missionaries in 1921, went at once to India with the expectation that they might become the successors of Mr. and Mrs. Robert A. Hume. For a year they were in Ahmednagar with Dr. and Mrs. Hume, studying the language and learning from them of the problems that confront a missionary. For two years they had charge of educational work at Vadala, and for five years were at Satara doing evangelistic work and supervising schools. After a furlough in the United States they worked in connection with the Indian pastors of the four churches in Ahmednagar, and had some supervision of the Parner District of seventy-five villages, which had been Dr. Hume's special charge. Their life in India was cut short by the illness of their little daughter and they returned to America at the end of 1930. Their enforced withdrawal was a serious blow to the Mission.

Miss Mary B. Kifer of Sioux Falls, Iowa, joined the United Church in 1919. She sailed for Turkey soon after, not as a missionary but as a worker under the Near East Relief. Her service of helpfulness and mercy was cut short by accidental drowning in the Black Sea. Another member of the United Church who has served as a missionary in India is Mrs. Mildred Street Hatch. After varied experiences in this country, and abroad in

the first World War, she started in 1926 for a trip around the world. In Allahabad, India, she saw the need for a secretary in the office of the Agricultural Institute supported by the Presbyterian Board and offered her services as a volunteer worker for a time. Finally consenting to remain as secretary to Mr. Sam Higginbottom, the head of the Institute, she met Ira A. Hatch, a recent graduate of Cornell, where he had taken special training in tropical agriculture. They were married and on their return to America in 1928 were both commissioned for foreign service under the Presbyterian Board. In India Mrs. Hatch continued her work as secretary, besides fulfilling the duties and meeting the opportunities for service which come to the wife of a missionary. In 1940 Mr. and Mrs. Hatch were obliged to return to America on account of her health, and are now engaged in philanthropic work in South Carolina.

"A complete record," wrote Miss Munger, who knows more about the missionary history of the church than any one else, "would doubtless tell of many others who in one way or another have done missionary work."

CHAPTER IX

THE TEMPERANCE QUESTION AND SLAVERY

Two other great movements in which the church was interested, temperance and slavery, were also manifestations of the reforming and humanitarian spirit of the times. Though after 1818 the church and its officers could no longer be under even the suspicion of belonging to a political group, as the Standing Order had been, yet its actions and the weight and influence of its leaders made clear its stand on these questions.

The church was obliged to consider the temperance question in its own organization, because of its interpretation of the duty to have "watch and care" over members. This obligation was interpreted literally and taken seriously. Trials for intemperance occurred during the 18th century, but over a considerable period in the early 19th century a larger share of the time of the business meetings of the church was devoted to the consideration of cases of members accused of the "improper use of ardent spirits." It was necessary to hold many extra meetings and to appoint many special committees to deal with this subject. Women as well as men were guilty of the fault, and were brought to trial. The condition was not peculiar to this church, and roused churches and ministers everywhere to the dangers of intemperance.

In 1825 Lyman Beecher delivered his famous six sermons on temperance, and on Fast Day of the same year Mr. Merwin preached a sermon on the subject. Not long afterwards a temperance society was formed in New Haven. Many meetings considered the advisability of forming such a society in the church but the problem was a difficult one. Some men who had become members in good faith sold liquor in connection with groceries and other goods, and felt they had a right to continue the trade. This point of view is set forth in a letter written by a member to the minister. The writer said that he sold liquor as well as drugs and medicines and that in doing so he tried to discriminate between those who needed it and those who did not. However, he continued, he saw no scriptural basis for a rule against its sale, and he

considered it a civil and lawful pursuit. The church, he felt, could not regulate the occupations of its members, and if it tried to do so, it was making an arbitrary assumption of power. He believed in temperance, he said, but through reason and persuasion, not by penal enactment.

Many meetings discussed the subject, only to adjourn without having decided on a policy other than disapproval, the adoption of moral suasion, and the discipline of erring members. In 1832 the church advanced to the point of passing almost unanimously the following resolution: "Whereas the Temperance reform has become intimately identified with the interests of religion, being as it evidently is, a powerful auxiliary in the great work of converting men to Christ; and whereas, the immense evils resulting to the *chh* from the desolating scourge of intemperance can never be prevented but by a cordial and universal effort of the friends of religion,—Therefore *Resolved*—that in the opinion of this Church the use and traffic in ardent Spirits for other than medicinal purposes; ought *to be abandoned by every Christian Professor.*" Two years later a resolution was offered which went further—"that in all future applications for admission into this church it be required of the applicants that they give their pledge to abstain from the use and traffic of ardent spirits as a drink as one condition of membership." But the people were not ready for such action or to vote that use and traffic in ardent spirits was a cause of discipline.

An important case was that of two brothers who were brought before the church for selling liquor. The case dragged on for some time, the brothers claiming in a letter to the church that when they joined it in 1821, at the earnest solicitation of the pastor and a great number of the brethren, there was no question of the legality or morality of their business, and bringing the charge of slander against one of the brothers who had brought the complaint against them. At several meetings of the church they argued from the Scriptures in defence of their business. During the course of the discussions, simultaneous notices appeared in the New Haven newspapers advertising both their business of selling liquor and the sale of their seat in the gallery of Mr. Merwin's church. The church did not pass sentence upon them, but withdrew its watch and care in 1837, when they had ceased attendance at its services. Meanwhile it voted that use and traffic in ardent

spirits were immoralities, and later other persons were excommunicated for selling liquors, the church thereby taking a stand of the question. Growth of sentiment among the members on this subject is shown by the action of Timothy Bishop, who joined the church in 1817 and was an active worker. A business man in the West India trade, whose chief staple was rum, he gave it up for moral reasons.

Another question which agitated the church from time to time as it did the whole country was slavery and the problem of the negro. Out of it developed some of the most famous events in the history of the North Church. The first was the delivery of a sermon by Jonathan Edwards, Jr., on the evils of the slave trade. It was not preached to this church, to be sure, but delivered by its minister and published as a pamphlet. Both Edwards and members of his church and society held offices in local and national societies formed against that institution and to improve the lot of the slave.

In 1831 and the years following, a member of the Third Church, Simeon Jocelyn, was prominent in all works for the help of negroes. He supported among other things the effort to found a negro college in New Haven, which should also be a center for movements in their behalf. Jocelyn allowed his name to be used by Miss Prudence Crandall of Canterbury as approving her plan of changing her private school for girls into one for the education of "Young Ladies and Little Misses of Color." He was minister of the first church in New Haven organized for colored people. He and his brother, Deacon Nathaniel Jocelyn of the North Church, established a tradition in the family of working for the colored race which was continued by Nathaniel's grandson, Judge Livingston W. Cleaveland.

The Jocelyns and other members of the church, Roger Sherman Baldwin and Arthur Tappan, were closely connected with one of the most famous incidents in the history of slavery agitation, the trial, in 1839-1840, of the Amistad captives. These unfortunate negroes had been seized in Africa as slaves and were being taken from Havana to Cuba on a Spanish ship, the Amistad. During the voyage they mutinied and succeeded in getting control of the ship, after killing the captain and some of the crew, permitting others to escape in the small boat. They ordered the remaining whites to pilot the ship to Africa, but as the negroes knew nothing

of navigation, the whites were able to deceive them as to the course and change the direction at night from east to northwest. After about two months, the negroes landed on the shore of Long Island to obtain water and supplies, where they were captured and arrested by government officials. They were ultimately deposited in the New Haven jail while the case involving them was brought to trial.

The negroes understood and spoke no language but their own, but through the efforts of Professor Gibbs a means of communication was finally established. The men who claimed ownership of them as slaves brought suit for their return. The question before the courts was complicated, involving also charges of piracy, claims of salvage, international treaty, and diplomatic relations.

Meanwhile much sympathy for the captives had been roused in New Haven. Simeon Jocelyn took them out on the Green for exercise and their good-natured antics attracted attention to their situation. Some money for their benefit was raised by charging a small admission fee to see them in the jail, and many men provided money for their defense. When the case came through several courts to final trial in Washington, lawyers for the defense included ex-President Adams and Roger S. Baldwin of the North Church. But so strong was the desire in Washington not to offend pro-slavery interests, that Jocelyn and Tappan feared the outcome and planned to spirit the negroes away if the case went against them or there was any attempt to kidnap them. For that purpose they provided a boat which for a number of days cruised about the Sound and often approached the harbor of New Haven.

When the case for the captives was won and they were free, the same men arranged for their return to Africa. They had been given instruction by students in the Divinity School, and asked to have missionaries sent back with them. This was done and the result was the establishment of the Mendi Mission. John W. Barber published a pamphlet in 1840 containing pictures of the captives and giving brief biographies of the thirty-six who still lived. Nathaniel Jocelyn painted a portrait of the leader, Cinque, which is in the rooms of the New Haven Colony Historical Society. The case still rouses interest, and a novel was recently written about it, setting the scene in New Haven and in the mission in Africa.

The slavery question was stirring the people of New Haven in many ways, though there was no agreement as to what should be done. The minister of the North Church, Mr. Dutton, was an abolitionist as was his father, the Rev. Aaron Dutton of Guilford. His house on College Street was a station on the Underground Railway, and in spite of the disapproval of prominent members of his church he preached and worked for the cause of the slave.

In the fifties the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill presented an opportunity for action through the formation of one of the bands of emigrants to Kansas. These bands went out to settle that territory with men who were opposed to slavery and who would bring it into the Union as a free state. The one from this region was one of the largest, sixty of its members coming from New Haven and some of them from the North Church. Among the latter were a deacon, Harvey S. Hall (who returned soon), and the leader, Charles B. Lines. In connection with their departure many meetings were held. One, the most famous political meeting ever held in the North Church, is known to history as the "Kansas Rifle Meeting," though it was called the "Kansas Swindle Meeting" and the church the "Old Fort" by opponents, who objected to this "turning of Christian churches into military rendez-vous and preaching the efficacy of rifles over the Gospel of peace." Reports of this extraordinary meeting spread all over the country, and its influence was felt in overthrowing slavery.

It took place in the church, March 22, 1856, with a charge of twenty-five cents for admission, and was presided over by Henry Ward Beecher. Bibles, with the words, "Be ye steadfast, immovable," stamped on the covers, were presented to members of the band. After addressing the emigrants, Beecher said it had been suggested that as they would probably need means to protect themselves it would be appropriate to add Sharpe's rifles to the Bibles. He offered, if twenty-five were pledged at this meeting, to get as many more from his Brooklyn congregation. Although the rifles cost \$25 each, twenty-seven were quickly promised, Professor Silliman leading the way, and Mr. Dutton following with a rifle for the deacon of his church in addition to his gift of a Bible. Mr. Beecher kept the meeting in lively humor by remarks on the names of the donors. When Henry Killam offered a rifle, he said, "That is the kind that will kill 'em." On John G. North's

making a pledge, he said, "The South will find there is a North." When the Junior class of Yale College pledged a rifle, some one called out, "Is n't there a Senior Class?" Besides the rifles and Bibles a large sum of money was given the emigrants, including that raised by the admission fees. The band led by Mr. Lines settled the town of Wabaunsee, Kansas. The company was often referred to as the "Beecher Rifle Company," and the church founded by them as the "Beecher Rifle Church."

Results were unfortunate for the donor of one rifle, Miss Mary Dutton, sister of the pastor of the church. She was head of Grove Street Female Seminary, a flourishing school for girls in New Haven, which drew pupils from the South, many of them sisters of students at Yale. Patronage from that region was withdrawn. Several jingling verses were made about her and the occasion.

"Shoulder arms Miss Mary Dutton;
Your knapsack buckle tight;
Your Soldier breeches put on
And show them how to fight.

"Quick march upon the foe;
Your Bible in your pocket;
Turn in your heel, turn out your toe,
Present your rifle, cock it.

"Take aim and sight it well,
And now, the trigger, pull it,
And send a slave holder to Hell
With every whistling bullet."

Another, a parody, contained these lines :

"Hush, my dear, lie still and slumber,
Beecher rifles guard thy rest,
Kansas humbugs without number
Press down gently on thy breast."

CHAPTER X

THE CHURCH AS A WORKING BODY

Three ministers at different times described the church in practically the same way. Mr. Merwin spoke of it as a "legal organization for political purposes"; Dr. Munger said "A church is not simply a preaching institution, it is an organization for Christian service"; and later, Dr. Denison said "As our political life requires the institution of government, so our religious life requires the institution of the church." Not only must there be officers and organizations for the church as a whole, but machinery to carry on the work of the different groups within it. Money must be provided for all this. "The church of the future," again said Dr. Munger, "will be like a great business firm of Bankers and Merchants—having heads over its various departments and also having capital." But he also said that the church "by its nature, does not admit of government, being a spiritual thing and therefore free. . . . Hence it has only a few rules and certain methods which have no binding force and exist only for convenience."

As an institution, the church, simple in its early days, increased in complexity as its work expanded in character and amount. This is shown numerically by a comparison of the number of officers in the White Haven Church with those in the United Church. The former started in 1742 with a "clerk," a treasurer, and one or two collectors; after 1749 it added a minister; after 1754, two deacons. The Society, formed in 1749, was equally simple, consisting of a committee, a clerk, and collectors annually elected. The United Church in 1942 has a minister, an associate minister, who is also director of religious education, an executive secretary, twelve deacons, a clerk, two treasurers, and an auditor, besides individual workers on special tasks, such as directing Boy Scouts and teaching the Sunday School. In addition there are many committees with their scores of members.

An official description of this institution issued in 1931 opens with the following statement: "The United Church is a church of self-governing Christian believers organized on a democratic

basis." For much of its two hundred years of existence, however, its democracy was limited by the fact that women, who at all times probably outnumbered the men, had no vote either in church or society meetings. The church as a religious body was composed of men and women; as a deliberative and voting body it was the "brethren," the male members. The society was made up of those qualified to vote according to the laws of Connecticut, which also excluded women.

There is uncertainty as to the position of women in the society in the first years. The presence of their names in some early documents shows that they had some place in it, probably because they were heads of households, and as such paid taxes. They do not seem to have had the right to vote, for any length of time at any rate. This role of onlooker was the characteristic one played by women in all churches of the denomination. President Stiles said in 1771, "As to the Congregationall Chhs. I never knew or read of the Sisters voting: they often stay with the Brethren & see & hear what is transacted, but don't even speak in the church. Nor in admissions is their Consentment to be taken, when the Vote is put." Mr. Stiles had a comment to make upon this last point. "It is said by some no person ought to be rec^d to sit down at the Table, unless every Member could have true Fellowship with him: This is said by some who would not allow the sisterhood to vote: but inconsistently." But though truly forming the "silent democracy," the Sisters no doubt found ways to express their opinions. Besides the Sisters there were the "Females of the church," mentioned as attending the funeral of Mrs. Edwards. They were doubtless Half Way Covenant members, and as such could not vote in church meetings in any case.

A slow and gradual change took place in the official position of women in the church as its work became more varied and they had more part in it. Towards the middle of the 19th century church activities began to be reported in annual meetings; in 1864 organizations of women were included for the first time. The idea, however, that the "Brethren" must speak for the "Sisters" still prevailed, and for some years their reports were read by the pastor.

In 1875 the value of women in church work was recognized in the proposal to create the office of deaconness. This was not carried out, because the committee appointed to deal with the matter

could not discover a statement of their duties, and hesitated to originate such an office on its own initiative. As a substitute measure, it was proposed to form a committee of four, then six, women to serve for one year, whose duties should be to help the pastor in special cases, and to do "such church work in the parish as comes within their knowledge." This too failed, apparently because the women approached would not act. Either they were too modest or there was no enthusiasm for the plan or no other women than the ones first approached were considered capable. The reasons for their refusal were not stated in some cases, and in others were the conventional ones of lack of time or health.

At length in 1895, Mrs. Henry E. Champion, already a veteran in work in the women's organizations, was put on a church committee appointed to prepare a schedule of contributions for the coming year. Two years later the committee on chapel entertainments was composed of the assistant pastor and four women, with no explanation for the sudden preponderance of women. Perhaps it was due to the increasing emphasis on the social life of the church in which women were especially active. In 1902, at the special meeting of the church held to consider a call to Mr. Haynes, the question was brought up as to who should vote. Judge Baldwin said there was no specific rule, but it always had been male members. This statement "was not favorably received by many of those present, so the question was tested and it was voted that the ladies be allowed to vote." Mr. Baldwin then suggested that their vote be taken separately. Both votes were unanimous for Mr. Haynes, which, so far as this case went, proves either that women were worthy of the vote, or that they did not need it, or rather it proves both. Nine years later the half-hearted suggestion had become a real conviction and at the annual meeting of 1911 the church "Voted that women members of the church of legal age may vote." In 1921 the church and the society, in connection with another matter—the change in their relations with each other—voted that all members of the church twenty-one years old should become members of the society on signing the roll. Others, both men and women, who did not care to join the church, could be elected to the society as men had been before. Thirteen women signed the roll at the close of the annual meeting, and with this so-called unlucky number the final penetration of women into the entire organization was begun. Twelve

years later (1933) the regulations were changed to provide that membership in the church automatically brought membership in the society on arrival at the legal age of voting, without the formality of signing the roll. Others were elected as before and regulations were made for terminating membership.

The custom of appointing women to committees was also increasing. In 1920 two were placed on the Committee of Seven on choice of minister; in 1929 they requested representation on the Prudential Committee and two were given places. At present the Board of Deacons and the Investment Committee are the principal parts of the organization to which they have not been appointed.

The Third Church, more conservative in doctrine, was more advanced in this respect, and gave women the right to vote at a much earlier date. Like the North Church it approached the matter gradually. At the annual meeting in 1870 it was moved that the by-laws be revised in order to allow female members to vote in church meetings. The committee appointed to deal with the question cautiously recommended "that an informal vote of the sisterhood be taken, upon the subject, and if from that vote it shall appear that such a change will be agreeable to them we recommend that by a vote of the Brotherhood the standing rules be so changed as to extend the right of suffrage to *all* members of the church." When the vote of the women was taken, it stood two yeas and two nays, but, said the records, "on account of the evasion of the ballot by most of the ladies retiring without voting it was decided that the ladies of the church do not desire to vote in church meetings."

However, when the church in March, 1875, was considering a call to Mr. Dennen, a measure somewhat like that later proposed by Mr. Baldwin in the North Church was taken. "It was moved that an informal vote be taken by ballot and that the female members also be requested to add their votes on the question of extending a call to the Rev. Doct. Dennen." The result was a unanimous vote for Mr. Dennen, sixty-six voting. A formal vote of the men was then taken with the same result, twenty-six voting. Less than a year later, February, 1876, the rule was adopted that all members of the church were to vote on all business. Since the North Church had not given women this right by the time of the union of 1884, one who had come from the Third Church wrote

her son, "You ought to be here to vote for the family [in a meeting to call a minister] as women won't be allowed that privilege."

The two hundred years of the church history have seen many changes in its officers and administration. The annual meeting of the church was first held in December, and that of the society, called an "anniversary meeting," in October. In 1864 the month of May was chosen for society meetings as by that time the annual rental of pews had taken place, and it was possible to estimate the income and prepare a budget for the coming year. Sometimes the annual meeting of the church was held on Sunday evening in place of the usual service; at others it was felt that this would "violate the sanctity of the Sabbath and the promotion of holiness." In the late seventies the annual meetings of both church and society were held in January, on successive Tuesday evenings. Twenty years later they returned to the former arrangement of society meetings in May and church meetings in January. With the change in the relations between church and society, it was voted in January, 1921, to have both annual meetings held on the same date, at the same place, and with the same person as moderator.

In early days the annual meetings were simple affairs, the entry of the small amount of business to be done filling only a page or two of the record book. Ordinarily an annual meeting of the society, for example, consisted in little more than electing the officers and voting the tax. Other meetings held by adjournment often found nothing to be done except adjourn again to a definite time and place. In 1842 Mr. Dutton proposed that reports should be given in the annual meetings of the church showing to what objects contributions had been made; setting forth the state of the Sunday School and the Bible classes; the number of deaths, dismissals, and additions to church membership; and any other matter of interest. Men were appointed to report on these matters and the pastor himself took the question of church membership. The next year reports about absent members and the state of religion in the church were added and later still reports of the activities of organizations formed by different groups for various purposes. So the annual meeting began to assume its present aspect of a complete picture of the life of the church. For a number of years Dr. Munger took these reports, studied, analyzed, and arranged them and on a Sunday morning not too far off made a general report of his own, based on this material and giving his

interpretation of its significance. Several of these reports were printed and are of great value.

The original church of New Haven had a second minister with slightly different duties, called the teacher, but this office had disappeared by 1742. Traces of it, perhaps, are seen in the suggestion, usually made in time of trouble in the church, that there should be a "colleague minister" who would satisfy the aggrieved members. A Mr. Fish was suggested for that position at the time of the objections to the ordination of Jonathan Edwards, Jr., in 1769. It was not carried out, and no such person was ever appointed in this church.

As the work increased the proposal was made from time to time that the minister should have an assistant, not to appease the disgruntled but with positive duties—to help in the Sunday School, to welcome strangers, and to do executive and pastoral work. Such an assistant was tried in the late eighties, and in 1890 Mr. F. B. Richards, a student in the Divinity School, was engaged at a small salary. His work was most satisfactory, and since that time the minister has not been without an assistant. At first the salary was paid by Dr. Munger. The titles and duties of these men have varied slightly, and other helpers have been added. In 1911, for example, there were an Assistant Pastor, a Pastor's Assistant, and a Pastor's Secretary. At one time Dean Charles R. Brown preached at the Sunday evening services.

The qualities sought for in an assistant pastor have been executive ability, the capacity to cultivate the parish, and to help in the Sunday School. Talents as a preacher and public speaker, while desirable, were not essential. In the long line of men in this position are those who have become distinguished ministers of large churches and have filled important positions in other religious organizations.¹

Like the industrial organization with which the church has been compared at various times, it is furnished with a counterpart of a board of directors—the board of deacons. This board was officially formed in October, 1900, at a meeting at the Parish House, following a suggestion made on the day Dr. Munger resigned. The White Haven Church was nearly twelve years old when the first deacons, two in number, were chosen—Isaac Dicker-

¹ For the list of names, see Appendix. Photographs and brief biographies are on file in the Parish House.

man and Joseph Ruggles. By 1760, Deacons Lyman, Austin, and Bishop were added. The Fair Haven Church had two deacons—James Gilbert and Abraham Augur. At the time of the union of the churches there were four, one, Joseph Ruggles, having left town. It became necessary to add to the number from time to time, four in 1834 for instance, until now there are twelve. For some years there was a ceremony of installing these officers. It usually consisted of reading their letters of acceptance of the office at the next time of communion, and then ordaining them by the laying on of hands or by an address by the pastor and a prayer. On one of these occasions, in the interval after Mr. Merwin left, Dr. Bacon of the First Church was asked to preach a suitable sermon. A brief service of installation was held when Mr. Downs and Mr. Cleaveland became deacons (1913), but there is no ceremony now. Originally no limitation was placed on the term of office, deacons usually serving for life; in 1876 the term was limited, and in 1921 the regulation was added that an interval of one year must elapse before re-election to another term of six years.

In later years other bodies have been formed to advise in the work of the church. In 1902 a Pastor's Council was in existence, composed of representatives of various departments, twenty-nine in all. This met once a month. In July, 1920, an Executive Committee was recommended and soon appointed. It too was made up of representatives of organizations in the church. It was to meet with the minister once a week, to consider questions a little outside the regular routine of the officers of administration. It was expected to prepare new legislation for the Board of Deacons and for the Society's Committee, and in general to 'watch trends but not to inaugurate new policy.' One of the experiments that did not last long, perhaps its logical descendant or successor is the present Church Committee, made up in a similar way of representatives of different groups in the church, and having similar functions—"to promote the coordination and development of the program of the Church activities." Experiments of this sort come from a desire of the church to understand its duties, to be alert to seize opportunities as they are discerned by its workers in every department, and to have a council more widely representative of the church and its activities than any of the other boards or committees.

The Third Church felt the same need and had something like the executive committee or pastor's council. The catalogue of 1859 describes a "Standing Committee" composed of the pastor, not less than three deacons, and not more than five elected members. Its function was "simply to prepare matters of business for the hearing and action of the brotherhood."

Historically the oldest officials in both church and society are the clerk and the treasurer. Deacons and ministers came later, the choice of the latter delayed, as has been seen, by the position of the church as a seceding body. James Pierpont was the first officer in both church and society. In 1756 he was relieved of duty, the authorities feeling that new and younger men should assume the burden. The Rev. Samuel Bird took over the offices. It was stated that he was chosen treasurer of the White Haven Society for the following reason: "considering y^e Rev^d Sam^l Bird is to have the Interest or Income of y^e Publick Stock During his Continuance in y^e Ministry among us that he should be Chosen Treasurer In y^e Room of M^r James Pierpont." It was so voted after "considerable discourse." Within a few years Samuel Bishop was chosen clerk of the society and began the long term of service in that office, which lasted through the life of the White Haven Society and into that of its successor. The minister continued to act *ex officio* as clerk of the church for many years. When there was no minister, the work was usually done by one of the deacons, and in 1866 the separate office of clerk was made permanent.

In the beginning one treasurer could fulfill the duties of the office unaided. As the church acquired property a committee was appointed to give him assistance and advice. The first such committee was appointed in 1753, its members being besides James Pierpont the treasurer, Lieut. Joseph Mix, James Talmadge, Samuel Cooke, and Philip Rexford. The work of those in charge of the finances and the amount of money needed was greatly increased with the expansion of church activities. At the annual meeting of the Society in May, 1868, it was reported that "the change in the times and in the habits of the people which has been felt in the past few years, or what may be termed 'the increased extravagance of the age' in all departments of life, has at length reached the Church, so that the sum of \$3500 which covered our annual expenses a short time since, is now scarcely sufficient for

one item." The expenses for 1868 had been estimated at \$8275. Church funds increased correspondingly in number and amount and in 1900 a committee on Invested Funds was created.

Beginning in the early years of the 19th century, two important committees were formed and continued for several years, one to deal with cases of discipline, sometimes called the Judicial Committee, and the other a Visiting Committee. Both were appointed occasionally, but more continuously than committees heretofore deputed to deal with particular questions. One represented a phase of church life that has practically passed out of existence; the other on the contrary was the beginning of an activity that the church today considers of increasing importance.

From the beginning of his ministry Mr. Merwin had emphasized pastoral work. In March, 1822, the church voted that a committee composed of the pastor and six brethren be formed to visit the church "as families and individuals as a means of grace." At least one evening a week, or its equivalent, was to be spent in this work. The visiting committee was renewed, or revised, in 1832 and its duties defined as for "mutual conversation and prayer with or for each other." It was also to organize neighborhood prayer meetings and stimulate revivals. Business-like arrangements were made for its activities. The parish was divided into districts, and in September, 1832, the committee submitted a report. One district had been completely visited, one about half, two nearly all, six partially, and no report was given by three. The committee of 1837 was to visit people in the following order—first, members of the church, then, members of the congregation, and finally others. From time to time similar committees have been formed, as in 1891, when the city was divided into seven districts for calling on members and getting children into the Sunday School. A later Fellowship Committee divided the names of all persons connected with the church among about one hundred members for their special care, in order to keep "better informed of the needs of the flock." At present annual calling campaigns of the church are usually maintained, besides the work of regular calling committees of the church and the Ladies Aid Society carried on continuously throughout the year.

The second article of the constitution of the church adopted in 1796 stated that "The members of this Church and all who

shall hereafter become members thereof, are, by their lives and conversation, to appear as the friends of virtue and religion." Nevertheless, recognizing human nature to be what it is, Article V enumerated faults which members might commit and for which they must be disciplined—immoral conduct, habitual neglect of church ordinances, and open and explicit renunciation of the fundamental doctrines of revealed religion. A year or two earlier Jonathan Edwards, Jr., in his farewell sermon had said that many in the White Haven Society were grossly immoral and some neglected the means of grace and the ordinances of worship. The necessity of church discipline was recognized, and its maintenance considered as a duty. The watch and care of members over one another was close. When persons were admitted to the church, the members promised to "walk towards you in all brotherly helpfulness according to the Gospel, loving, watching over, and assisting you with our counsel, means, and prayers."

In 1813 it was voted that "the male members of the church meet for religious conference respecting church discipline and the doctrines of the Gospel." In 1815 a ruling was adopted regulating the procedure in cases of discipline and stating that there were public and private offences, each with its appropriate method of treatment. From then on from time to time decisions were made when requested that defined offences and explained procedure.

In the early years of the 19th century occasions for discipline became so numerous and their consideration required so much time that, as has been said, in 1827 a committee of five was appointed for six months, whose duty should be to investigate and prepare cases that had been reported for action. Formerly this work had been done by individuals or committees appointed in each case. The judicial committee, as it came to be called, was renewed in 1829 for a year and subsequently reappointed from time to time. Its membership varied from four to six and the procedure in case of trials followed a regular but not a rigid plan. Later the work was done by a Standing Committee, elected every third year. When this body was established, however, it was expressly stated that its formation did not discharge or lessen the obligations of individual members to watch over, reprove, and admonish one another.

The basis for this duty was wider than the obligation to keep members in the paths of righteousness. The Rev. Mr. Bird said

in connection with bringing a wayward member before the church for discipline, that it was necessary to do this in order "to avoid scandal to the church." A deacon of a later period said under the same circumstances, that this action must be taken to "vindicate the Honour of the Church and Reclaim an offending Brother." Rule Three in the constitution of 1867 said, "This church holds it to be a solemn and important duty to attend watchfully to the discipline which Christ has instituted."

It was not merely members in full communion who were disciplined. "Watch and care" was exercised over persons baptized according to the Half Way Covenant, transient communicants, and absent members. Investigation of members absent from town was made by the minister or a member of the committee, who wrote not only to the accused but to responsible persons in the town where he was staying, asking for information about his behavior and standing in the community, and with what church he was worshipping. Some gave this information unwillingly, but one man was reported to be "an unblushing apostate & the disciple of a 'damnable heresy,' which prevails among us"; another member was stated to be "light and airy" in her conduct. Actual cases brought to trial included under the head of immoral conduct, idleness, slander, fornication, business irregularity, and most numerous, those of persons "overtaken in the sin of drunkenness," or as they were aptly described, "disguised with strong drink." Others were tried for heresy or for violating the covenant by long-continued absence from communion and public worship.

When there was cause for disciplining a member, on complaint either of a fellow member or from outside, the method of procedure was in general the same. The first "step," as it was called, was private admonition, that is, the complainant went to the accused and labored with him. If this was unsuccessful, the second step was taken, also admonition by the complainant accompanied by one or more other persons. Finally, if necessary, the third step was taken and the matter was laid before the church. This must not be done until the preceding steps had been taken. Violation of this condition by Mr. Edwards was one of the grievances felt against him. When a case was laid before the church the judicial committee made investigations, and the accused was notified or "sited" to appear before a business meeting of the church. Here evidence was taken, witnesses having been summoned, technical

if necessary. In one case witnesses appeared before a Justice of the Peace. In cases of business irregularity the accused might be requested to bring his account books to be examined. If not enough evidence was produced to prove guilt, the case was dismissed. If the proof was convincing, punishment was inflicted according to the seriousness of the offence and the number of times the accused had offended.

Penalties ranged from private admonition by letter or personal message from the pastor or deacons to private censure, public censure before the church or congregation, confession before the church (which would not always accept it), suspension of privileges of membership (sometimes merely to prove the reality of the repentance), withdrawal of watch and care, and finally, in extreme cases, excommunication. Doubtful cases were excused.

Every effort was made to give the accused a fair trial. If he did not appear when summoned he was given a copy of the complaint and proceedings "for his sober consideration," and was summoned to a later meeting. If a person was ill, he was allowed to make his confession at home and it was read afterwards before the church. The confession by women was often read by the minister while the penitent rose in her seat. Confessions were sometimes written by the minister or deacons. They were usually made at communion time.

Much time was given to these cases. One offender was before the church six times between December, 1752, and January, 1759. The first time he was suspended, the second he was censured before the church, the third he confessed, the fourth he was given time to reform, and finally it became necessary to excommunicate him. There are many cases of persons given several chances to reform before final excommunication.

An occasional member questioned the action of the church; a few thought it was usurping rights. An extreme case is that of a woman who said she wished the accusers would mind their own business and she would; she wished to be banished from the church and not troubled any more by committees; she drank no more than she needed and would not give it up. In general, however, they showed submission to the authority of the church, and faith in its powers. "It has been my firm opinion for some time," wrote an absent brother under inquiry, "that if I had continued under the

care of my faithful Brethren I should never have had so many serious moments as I have since had."

On the other hand, deacons and members of the church were willing to take upon themselves the responsibility of laboring with an erring fellow-member and passing judgment upon him. They felt this to be a responsibility and duty they must undertake "according to the word of God and to covenant engagements," that it was an effort to help the accused and to make real the church's rule concerning watch and care. So, after excommunicating a man for intemperance in 1853, it was logical for the Third Church, after the vote was taken, to 'commend him in prayer to God.' The church had done what it could.

In later years the case of an erring brother was considered by the Standing Committee. It had power to summon before it and examine any member accused of an offence. It then reported to the church and gave its opinion as to the proper course to be taken. At present this duty is performed by the deacons, and if they deem it expedient the matter is brought before the church. In both cases, however, it is expressly stated that all members have the right of appeal to the church and no one may be disciplined but by the church.

CHAPTER XI

CHURCH FINANCES

In the annual meeting of 1868 a committee reported "that all matters in connection with the Society are in a very pleasant condition. The only thing lacking is money. With sufficient of this all will be well." An account of financial officers and affairs of the church is complicated because of the existence of two separate bodies—the church and the society—each with its own funds, treasurers, and committees. In addition the church has more than one kind of funds—those for its own expenses, those for benevolences, and those for special purposes, such as the Fresh Air Fund and the Thanksgiving Fund, for a time kept separately, each with its own treasurer.

The situation was greatly simplified, when in compliance with a general movement in the Congregational Church, the church and the society were practically united. This church, with its consciousness of the past, made the change in such a way as to retain the society with its long and honorable history. The method by which this was accomplished was for the society to turn over to the church all but formal ownership of its property and become a holding corporation for certain funds, with corresponding rearrangement of officers and committees. By vote of the society all members of the church are now members of the society. Both are served by the same clerk, treasurers, auditor, investment committee, and nominating committee. Joint meetings are held with one moderator. A Prudential Committee was established in 1921, when the change was made, and was given charge of the financial affairs. It is composed of thirteen members, four being elected each year for a term of three years, with the treasurer a member *ex officio*, no one being eligible for more than two terms in succession. This committee prepares the budget and has general charge of income and expenses; an Investment Committee cares for the funds. The treasurer pays bills for church expenses under the direction of the Prudential Committee,

and bills for benevolences under the direction of the Benevolence and Missionary Committee or the Parish Relief Committee.

Two other features of the past further complicate the financial history of the church and society—their original support by an ecclesiastical tax levied on every one under the laws of the colony and state, and the private ownership of pews. Before the separation from the First Church was accomplished in 1759, the White Haven Church, as has been seen, had to be supported by voluntary contributions, since the ecclesiastical tax paid by its members must go to the First Church. Money for its own support was voted and collected in the way to which the people were accustomed, that is, by the same kind of tax on their property. The rate of the tax was voted at the annual meeting, and the money gathered by collectors appointed at the same time. When the church and society became independent, the same procedure was continued, except that the White Haven Church now received all the ecclesiastical tax paid by its members, and had no further financial obligation to the First Church. Disestablishment made no immediate change in the principle by which the church was supported. The old system was continued through force of habit. But habit would not hold forever, and the problem gradually developed of getting sufficient returns from a tax for which there was no legal obligation on any but actual members of the society, membership in which had become voluntary. Various steps have led from taxation, eked out by contributions and other methods, to the present system, which is a combination of voluntary pledges of sums determined by each individual, or income from membership, and income from invested funds which have been accumulated.

Even while the church could depend on taxation, the amounts were inadequate. It may be recalled that financial difficulties were among the reasons given for the dismissals of Mr. Edwards and Mr. Austin. Though it had had some property donated in early days by individuals and some received from the First Church as its share of the property before separation, some of the funds had been designated by their donors for particular purposes, as for the poor of the church, and some had been used to supply a residence for the pastor. Real estate in which the church had a share was sold soon after the death of Mr. Noyes, according to the provisions made by the General Assembly in 1759.

At times the unsettled condition of the currency caused difficulty. In 1778, when the different kinds of money in circulation were hopelessly confused and their values uncertain and fluctuating,¹ no money tax was laid in the Fair Haven Society for one year, the minister's salary being paid by "free donations" solicited by a committee. The next year a tax was levied, to be paid "in good Wheat, Rice, Indian Corn, Pork or Beef, or the equivalent in some other articles," at designated prices. Among articles received by the White Haven Society in 1779 were wood, molasses, sugar, a pair of shoes, salt, and a gallon of rum.

In January, 1781, President Stiles, preaching in the Fair Haven Church, observed another method of obtaining money. "This day afternoon the Deacons carried round a Contribution Box in Mr. Mather's Meet^e for the first time—designing to do it every Lord's day. The first constant Ldsdy contribution for support^e public Worship in Connecticut; altho' it has long been practiced in Boston, Newp^t, Portsm^o & other populous Places." In March, after preaching there again, he added the information that the collection was taken after singing, that it was for the ministry (at this time the principal expense of the church), and that this was the first congregation in the state to adopt the practice. In January, 1785, he described something like an envelope system devised in the New Haven churches. "Read in Mr. Whitt^{rs} Congregation a Society Vote of 29th ult. to begin & have weekly Contribution every Ldsdy at the Conclusion of the Aft. Service—loose money unmarkt, for the Minister gratis, rest for Sal^y The two other Presb. chhs. begin this practice at this Time. Never before." Mr. Stiles' memory was obviously somewhat treacherous, but we are grateful for the details, and the evidence that the custom was so new as to be worth recording.

Similar contributions had been taken earlier in the White Haven Church, for soon after the formation of the society in 1749 it was voted "That the contributions be continued," with the provision that the money wrapped in paper and marked with the person's name was to apply to what was owed on his rate, but all loose money unmarked was to go to the minister, "over and besides what shall be collected by Rate." It was said of Mr. Cur-

¹ Mr. Stiles gives an example of this in 1779. "Mr Shipman yes^{ty} gave 14 paper Doll. for 1 Silver Doll. and sold 1 Silver Doll. for 16 paper Dollars." Literary Diary, vol. III, p. 341.

tiss that he had a salary, house, wood, "and the avails of occasional contributions." Similar contributions of "unmarked money" were taken for the benefit of the society in both churches. Collections were also taken for the poor of the church.

In 1803 it was proposed to establish a permanent fund by subscription, the interest to be applied to the expenses of the church, any amount not needed for that purpose to be added to the principal. A fund, it was said, "greatly tends to preserve the peace and unity of Societies and to promote the Interests of Religion." A comparatively painless method of raising it was devised. No subscriptions were to be paid until the amount reached four thousand dollars. Even then subscribers need not pay the principal, but must pay the interest on the amount of their pledges. "Good notes of hand, payable in one year, and Guaranteed by the Subscriber shall at any time be received in payment of the Principal." For investment it was voted that "All monies received for principal shall be vested in Bank shares of the New Haven Bank or reloaned on double security." Unfortunately this vote was changed or disregarded and the money was invested in the Eagle Bank. A subscription book which has been preserved shows one hundred twelve contributors. Familiar names on the list are, among others, Nathan Beers and David Daggett, who each subscribed \$200; Simeon Baldwin, \$150; Elizur Goodrich, Daniel Read, and several others, \$50. The expectation was that such a fund would make it possible to give up the annual tax. Other benefits might accrue. "I hope," wrote Simeon Baldwin to his wife in 1804, "the fund will form a Basis of more permanent union than we have hitherto experienced in that society."

In 1805 it was suggested that additions to the fund might be obtained by the sale of one of the two meeting-houses. Instead they were sold to help provide money for the new building that was begun in 1812. The next suggestion was to acquire the pews owned by individuals and add their rental to the fund, and in 1822 a committee was appointed to solicit additions to the fund on any principle that they deemed expedient. The sum finally collected exceeded \$10,000, but as has been said, a large part was lost in the failure of the Eagle Bank in 1825, in which money had been invested. Suggestions were made from time to time to start a sinking fund to replace money that had been borrowed, but any real effort to establish an endowment fund lay comparatively

dormant until 1890, when it was set in vigorous motion by Dr. Munger in a sermon preached on Fast Day, entitled "The Future of the Church or A Plea for Endowment." The first collection was taken June 13, 1890, and amounted to \$659.54. It was soon voted to devote the annual Easter offering to increasing the fund. In 1902 the amount reached the sum of \$20,000, the minimum figure at which pledges were binding and the interest on the fund could be used.

Meanwhile the church and society needed money for current expenses, and until a better way could be devised the traditional and increasingly unsatisfactory principle of taxation was followed as the main source of revenue, later substituting for a tax on property a tax on pews owned by individual members of the society and voluntary assessment on members of the society. Some income was received from the rental of pews still in possession of the society. In 1826 the rate of the tax was increased from the customary two and a half to five cents on the dollar, but even with the increased rate the amount collected grew smaller from year to year. About \$1257 was realized in 1827, \$1000 in 1831, and in 1832 it was estimated that only about \$750 would be produced. The annual expenses were estimated at this time to be \$1500, exclusive of repairs needed on the building. It might be necessary, said the committee which brought in the last report, to ask the legislature for power to lay a tax that would be "a lien on the property of the pew assessed." The income had to be supplemented by voluntary subscriptions. Thus in 1800 the society voted a tax of two and a half cents on the dollar, that would be enough, provided that by a certain date a subscription be raised to the amount of \$160, to be applied towards the payment of the minister's salary.

In December, 1832, a large committee was appointed to study the financial situation, for the church was found to be \$1800 in debt. In view of the serious state of affairs a sub-committee was formed to make a more thorough study of the problem. On it were Simeon Baldwin, William Bristol and Roger Sherman, Jr. Within a few days they brought in a report which was so comprehensive that the subject must have been on their minds for some time. As the problem appeared to them, it was not so simple as raising the rate of the tax and finding a more efficient way of collecting it, but how to make those who attended the church serv-

ices contribute to its expenses. That is, the church must now face the change in its legal and financial situation made by disestablishment. The report affirmed the continued belief of the members of the committee in the principle that every man ought to be obliged to support religion as in the old days, but admitted that it was no longer possible, for there was no authority to make people join the society and thus become subject to taxation for its support. They therefore recommended another method of securing contributions from those who attended church and received its benefits. Briefly, this might be said to be by making the society the landlord renting the church pews to church attendants, whether members of the society or not.

At present, the committee reported, many were enjoying the Gospel free of charge. They owned the pews in which they sat, and yet, not being members of the society, they were not liable to taxation and many made no financial contribution to the church. Thus pew number 108, owned by Timothy Dwight, who had left in 1826 to help organize the Third Church was held by him until 1841, when he sold it to Samuel St. John. Indeed, the report continued, absentee owners might actually make money by renting their pews, and it was conceivable that in course of time all pews might come to be owned by persons not members of the society. It may be recalled that private ownership, in a different form, of the Third Church building nearly wrecked that church in 1838. Certain indications showed that ownership of all pews by non-members was not so impossible as it seemed. Attendance at church was increasing, but membership in the society and contributions to its expenses were declining. This was felt to be unjust to those who, as members of the society, were bearing the financial burdens. It had a further bad effect on the organization, since people would not only fail to join the society but would leave if the present inequitable system was not changed. This was more likely to happen as obviously, in order to meet expenses, the rate of the tax must be increased to ten cents on the dollar.

This condition arose from the arrangement made when the present building was erected, that only one eighth of the pews were reserved for the society, the rest becoming the property of individuals. Some of the society pews had been sold. The idea of private ownership was not new at the time, nor peculiar to this church. It was the custom when a meeting-house was built

to sell "ground" to individuals on which they built their own pews under proper restrictions. Men were often anxious to own their seats in order to escape an annual "dignification" or seating of the people by a committee, while the society saved that much addition to the expense of the building, besides the money received for the sale of the ground.

In January, 1752, for example, a committee was formed in the White Haven Society to grant pews. Probably at their recommendation the first pew was voted to the minister, to be built at public expense. "Then ye meeting proceeded to fix the Conditions or terms on which particular persons should have Spaces Granted to them to build Pews for themselves & family." Timothy Jones was given ground next the minister and others followed. Some persons were granted ground "where they had already built pews." In 1754 the society voted pews in the gallery. When the building was enlarged in 1764 the committee was empowered "to Sell the Places where said Pews are to be Built and let each purchaser build his own Pew, in such manner as y^e aforesaid building com^t shall Direct." In 1771 there was an assignment of new pews, and in 1779 more pew ground was to be sold.

Similar actions were taken by the Fair Haven Society. In 1789 it appointed a Pew Committee "on behalf of the Society to distribute the Pews and execute proper Deeds or Conveyances of the several Pews to such persons or person as are or may be entitled to them and generally to purchase, exchange, and take Care of the Pews in the Meeting House to the best advantage for the Society." Pews held privately were to revert to the society when their owners left. Among those reverting to the White Haven Society were ones belonging to Samuel Horton and Enos Tuttle, founders of the Fair Haven Church.

Many who left the society nevertheless retained their pews, partly from a misunderstanding of their rights. This is shown in a report of a committee of the White Haven Society appointed in 1785 to find out, among other duties, how many pews it owned. The committee reported that several had reverted to the society, but that there were "four pews that had been purchased of the original Proprietors, for valuable considerations, by members of the Society, they not knowing but they had a right to dispose of them and therefore the Committee are of opinion that s^d pur-

chasers ought to be quieted in the use of them for themselves and families to sit in so long as they continue members of the society." In the same year it was voted that the society "will indemnify any persons who may be Seated in any of the Pews that have reverted to the Society any damage or expense that may arise by any persons claiming the Same, against the claim of the Society." It is also easy to see how pews held in a family for a long time could come to be regarded as private property that could be bought, sold or transferred by deed from the "Grantors their Heirs and assigns forever." The custom was established in the new building at the outset.

As private property, pews were put into the hands of agents and their sale advertised in the papers. In May, 1827, Mr. Augur advertised in the *Columbian Register* as follows: "For sale—a front slip² (number 140) in the South Gallery of the North Church—one of the most eligible seats in the house." Another person advertised "A House to Let and a Pew for sale." Out of town inheritors sold them; they were sold for the benefit of creditors; they were regarded as part of the right of minors and the dower of widows; and were passed on to heirs. Thus in 1866 William Johnson was constituted agent "to execute and deliver in behalf of the society, proper deeds of the two pews formerly occupied respectively by the late Philemon Hoadley and David H. Carr, as owners thereof, to such persons as by law or will of the testator, are now legally entitled to own the same, by virtue of titles derived respectively from said Hoadley and Carr." Many persons owned more than one pew, and some owners put name plates on the doors as they would on the doors of their houses. Two such plates are still in place, that of Atwater Treat on number 124 and of S. Marble on number 77. Two or three other plates are in the church collections. In 1831 the society voted not to sell pews any more, but to lease them.

Besides the loss of revenue, private ownership of pews brought other disadvantages. There was the question of the rights and obligations of owners of pews when it was necessary to repair the building. In 1848 a committee was appointed to ascertain "what legal rights of taxation for repairs and improvements of the House, the Society can exercise over the pews." In 1851

² Slips were long narrow seats like those of the present day. The pews under the galleries of the present building, originally square, were gradually divided.

the treasurer was prosecuted by two former pew holders. There was even a possibility that pew owners might try to assume control over the use of the building.

Returning to the report of the committee of 1832, it concluded that the society ought to own all the pews. Their annual rental, plus a bonus for choice, would bring an income sufficient to pay the expenses of the church. It was hoped that owners would donate their pews to the society, but if it was necessary to buy them, the society could not afford to pay the original prices. The amount fixed, one third of the cost price, was determined by a builders' estimate that a new building like the present one could be erected for \$20,000, since the present structure costing a little over \$33,000 was built at a time when prices were high.

If the plan of society ownership were adopted, said the committee, all pew holders would contribute to the support of the church, and since the rental price of pews varied, all would be suited. No person could any longer hold a pew and contribute nothing to the support of the church on the ground that he was not a member of the society. Neither could he rent it to another. Owners who objected to the plan should reflect that if the church should be reduced to such financial straits that the building must be closed, their property in the pews would be worthless. In other words, it was proposed to make the house of worship pay most, if not all, the expenses of the church and society.

In 1833 it was decided to give up taxation on the property of the members of the society and tax the pews, until the society could acquire ownership and rent them. Instead of paying collectors, people were to bring the money to the church four times a year in a paper properly labelled. This measure could be adopted as the society owned some pews and got the consent of enough owners to equal one-third of the building. In looking into the matter it was found that owners of twenty-four pews were dead, that twenty-four had left the society, that some would not surrender two-thirds of the cost of their pews, and others would not give them up on any terms. Therefore to pay the annual expenses of the church, it was necessary to ask also for contributions or voluntary assessments from individuals. This was done by making up an assessment list and presenting it to individuals for their "approbation." Names were assigned to members of a committee as in the present Every Member Canvass.

Proposals of various terms were made to owners on which to give up their pews. These met with some success, but in 1850 the society assumed more control and for purposes of taxation at ten per cent of their value had the pews re-assessed by three "indifferent" persons, and made the provision that if the tax levied on them was not paid within six months, the society could hold the pews until the arrears were paid. People surrendered them on various conditions. Some wanted a life use; others would pay a reasonable sum for their use, or "the average of the same class"; some gave them up in exchange for notes held by the society, such as those given for subscription to the fund, or as payment of debt to the society. Number 45, which Simeon Baldwin had bought for \$450, was surrendered in legal style, "for the consideration of my good will and attachment to the Society and for one dollar . . . reserving seats for myself and wife during life and a seat for our daughter during her life for her use or the use of her assignees—the reservations to be liable to assessments for their proportion of the ordinary expenses but not for alterations."

Various methods were employed to raise money to pay for the pews which the society was obliged to buy. Members of the society who had no pews were asked for contributions; part of the society funds were used; part were borrowed; notes were given; a pew was exchanged for back taxes owed on it; stock in the Fairfield County Bank owned by the society was sold; money was borrowed outside and the building mortgaged. According to one suggestion made during the process, the pews were to be held by the society as trustee of "The Stock of the United Society" and owners paid by scrip certificates of stock bearing six per cent interest.

In 1847 it was voted, that as soon as seven-eighths of the pews on the ground floor were in hand, the change should be made from assessment on them as private property to their annual rental by the society. This point was reached in 1867. Pews still owned privately were taxed as before. By 1876 only twelve were still owned by individuals, but as late as 1893 Miss Elizabeth A. Bradley deeded to the society pew number 108 which was owned by her. It was now possible for the society to draw up a budget and a committee report of May, 1867, presented the following estimates. The sale of slips, plus the bonus for choice, was ex-

pected to bring in not far from \$8000. Expenses were estimated at \$7615, distributed as follows: ordinary expenses, about \$5400; interest on slip notes, \$1150; new furnace, \$500; Dutton monument, about \$565. The report for the next year showed that the rent from pews had amounted to \$7776.23, and that \$1250 had been spent in buying pews.

During the years devoted to negotiations regarding pews, the church had to have more money than came in from the regular source. Since the building was not only kept in repair, but extensively remodeled in 1850, and the pastor's salary increased, it is evident that money was forthcoming. Additional amounts were raised from time to time by voluntary assessments on slips and on individuals.

The committee of 1832 pronounced against raising all the money for church expenses by voluntary contributions, but there were tendencies towards that plan coming from a different direction. In February, 1834, members were consulted as to what each one would pay on the first Sabbath of each month for defraying the expenses of the church and aiding the poor. This was really an incipient Every Member Canvass. Collections at the Sunday service had been taken for the minister "gratis" and for the poor, as has been seen. The latter was kept up three times a year and the church was interested in contributing to various missionary and educational enterprises. In 1876 estimated "deficiencies" in the income of the church led to the recommendation by a special committee of a trial of the envelope system. It met with success, ninety-two packages of envelopes were taken, and seventy persons pledged definite amounts, raising a little over \$1000. Hard times had caused the deficit, but the minister, Mr. Hawes, gave up \$1000 of his salary; a few years later came the union with the Third Church and by 1892 there was no debt.

Again in 1910 the envelope system was used to supplement the usual sources of income (not for missionary and benevolent objects) and soon there began to be suggestions that it would be desirable to make it permanent and change the financial system to raising money by an Every Member Canvass for pledges of money to meet both expenses and benevolences, and at the same time adopt free pews. In 1915 it was partly tried, in the hope that the envelopes would add the following amounts to the income from pew rents and invested funds—\$3000 for expenses and an

increase to \$6000 for benevolent and missionary objects. A year later the experiment was reported as "very satisfactory." In 1917 general discussion on the desirability of the canvass led to its permanent adoption. The envelopes are brought to the Sunday morning collections, together with any other "loose money unmarkt."

The question of pews, however, was not yet settled to every one's satisfaction. It was felt that private possession of seats in the building kept people away from church. In 1902 the society had correspondence with other places with regard to free pews, and its corollary, the entire contributions from individuals coming from their voluntary gifts, in amounts pledged in advance to enable the Prudential Committee to plan a budget. The plan was found to be successful in other places, but it took several years for the church to come to the point of adopting it, just as it had to accomplish the ownership of pews by the society. In 1923 it was voted to make all pews free.

Besides this source of revenue the church has invested funds, resulting from gifts made from time to time by individuals since its earliest years. Though one is labeled of "unknown origin," many are given the names of their donors, and are designated for a particular purpose—as the Gilbert Fund of \$1000, one of the earliest, received in 1867, for the poor of the church, and voted in 1873 to be kept as a separate fund; the Hume Coal Fund of the same amount; and the St. John bequest for the Sunday School. Examples of funds which originated in response to appeals for special needs are the Dixwell Avenue Fund of \$3050 from the sale of the Mission Chapel belonging to the North Church; the Chapel Fund started to provide a parish house. After the death of Mr. Haynes a Memorial Fund of \$5000 was raised to pay for the education of his sons. Parish relief funds have been given by a number of people; others have been given for the Sunday School, or for the branch of church work in which the donors were especially interested. The church now has about forty-five such funds, each listed under the name of the donor or the object to which it is devoted. By far the largest gift is the bequest of Simeon E. Baldwin.

CHAPTER XII

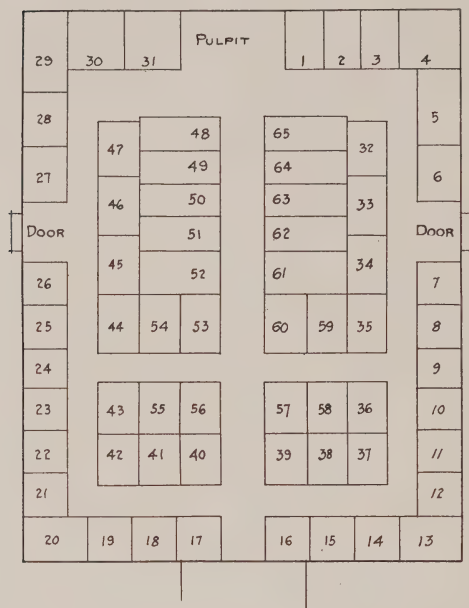
THE MEETING-HOUSES

In the course of its complicated career the United Church and the organizations which compose it have been possessors of no less than twelve buildings—six church edifices, or meeting-houses, two mission chapels, one parish house, and three parsonages. Of these all but the parish house and two parsonages were built by the societies connected with the churches. The oldest meeting-house is that of the White Haven Church, familiarly known by the color of its paint as the Blue Meeting-house, Old Blue or Blue, when it was not called Mr. Bird's or Mr. Edwards' meeting. The color, which was really a bluish gray rather than blue, seems quiet in comparison with the reported peach color of the Norfolk meeting-house, the orange or bright yellow of the Pomfret, Windham, and Killingly buildings and the one on Milton Green called "Old Yaller."

The White Haven meeting-house was located on the southeast corner of Church and Elm Streets, fronting on Elm. It was about sixty feet square, and according to the figures given by Mr. Stiles, who collected measurements of meeting-houses from Boston and Newburyport to Fairfield as he did other statistics, was about the average size in square feet. It was not quite as large as either the First or Fair Haven churches.

The pews were square, with railings raised about six inches above the tops of the partitions and resting on small turned spindles set about three inches apart. Mr. Merwin described the pulpit as capacious and "fronted with the memorable pair of oblong pews as chief seats in the synagogue." To those curious as to who sat there, it is observed that at one time they were occupied by John Prout and Timothy Jones and later by David Austin and Roger Sherman, son of the signer.

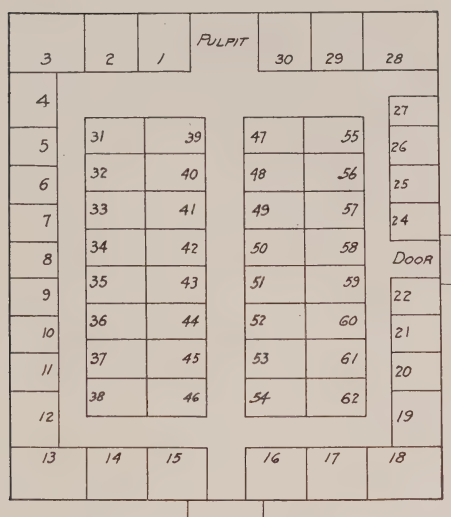
In 1763, nearly twenty years after the meeting-house was built, a large committee was appointed to see what ought to be done to the building and how to do it without cost to the society. The proposed changes were estimated to cost £600 and a plan for



Redrawn by Charles S. Farnham

WHITE HAVEN MEETING-HOUSE. ARRANGEMENT OF PEWS.
FROM A SKETCH DATED MAY 6, 1806

defraying the expense was devised similar to that followed later in building the present edifice in 1812. To give the additional space desired, an annex, twenty-three feet by sixteen was added to the west side of the building, and a tower or "style" sixteen feet square. The entrance was changed from Elm to Church Street. Since these additions to the building would encroach on public ground towards the Green, Capt. Thomas Wilmot and Nathan Beers were instructed to apply to the Proprietors at their next meeting for the necessary permission. In later years Mr. Merwin described the resulting structure as a "hexagonal antique." A bundle of bills that have been preserved show men, "teems" and "printises" going to the woods to get stone and timbers and working on the building from early in February through the summer and into the autumn. Other bills are for meals and supplies of mutton, turnips, and other articles, including rum. Not all bills were paid in money, several Beaver Hats figuring in the transactions.



Redrawn by Charles S. Farnham

FAIR HAVEN SOCIETY MEETING-HOUSE. ARRANGEMENT OF PEWS
ABOUT 1774

When the present United Church building was erected, the "Old Blue" was sold at auction.¹ The only part now in possession of the church is a section of the hand rail of the pulpit. The bell was sold to the Episcopal church in Cheshire. It was said that one of the steps was used in a house on Dwight Street. The last days of the building were strenuous. When the Fair Haven meeting-house had been removed and both the First Church and the North Church were putting up their buildings the services of both were held in the Blue meeting-house, the First Church assembling at eleven in the morning and three in the afternoon, and the other at nine in the morning and one in the afternoon.

Certain meetings held in this building are of historic interest. In 1759, as he was about to depart on an expedition against Canada, Colonel Wooster led his men to the White Haven meeting-house, where they were addressed by Mr. Bird on "The Importance of the Divine Presence with our Hosts." Again in 1775 when his troops were ready to leave on an expedition they were

¹ Total amount of sale 946.21

Net proceeds 771.61

taken to the same meeting-house, but the minister, Dr. Edwards could not be found. Colonel Wooster, reported Deacon Beers, immediately stepped into the deacon's seat in front of the pulpit and offered prayer himself "with the fervent zeal of an apostle, and in such pathetic language that it drew tears from many an eye and affected many a heart."

On Sunday morning July 11, 1779, a few days after the British invasion of New Haven, President Stiles was preaching to a congregation composed of members of the First and White Haven Churches. He was interrupted, he said, "in middle of sermon with News of Burn^s of Norwalk or En^{ys} Land^e—Congregation broke up & spent P M in removing Furniture & Effects." He reported that very little damage was done to the meeting houses at the time of the invasion.

In February, 1770, a young Yale graduate wrote of New Haven: "Religion flourishes here if we judge by the publick meeting houses. They have the timber allready brought to the spot for one—the bigness equal to M^r Whittelsey's; its Situation is North of our Meeting House, nigh to the Town School-house." He was writing about the house of worship about to be built by the Fair Haven Church. The statistically minded Mr. Stiles reported its dimensions to be the same as those of the First Church building, that is, seventy-two and a half by fifty feet. He also reported that it would seat about eight hundred. The building, with the entrance through the tower, faced south towards the First Church, with its longest dimension parallel to Temple Street. It contained negro pews, as did the White Haven Church.

It was not completed for two or three years, but was so far along that in December a committee began to plan and dispose of pew ground. A steeple was added later and in 1785 Mr. Stiles recorded the fact that they were raising the spire of the steeple. Four years later a new "Dutch pulpit" was acquired, for which the minister, Mr. Austin, advanced £10. This was repaid him when he left. In the pulpit of this church a "Romish priest" was allowed to speak in 1791. He was an American, a Protestant converted abroad "& is returned to convert Americans to that Chh. . . . Of haughty, insolent & insidious Talents."

In March, 1813, the Rev. Thomas Robbins wrote in his diary, "The people of New Haven have taken down their two meeting

houses on the Green. The spirit appears a little trifling." He was referring to the meeting-houses of the First and Fair Haven Churches. Along the same line is a letter from Simeon Baldwin to a gentleman in the South answering inquiries about church buildings. Mr. Baldwin sent him a description of the present building, and added, "We must acknowledge that some part of our exertion is imputable to worldly pride & a spirit of rivalry—I hope however & think that good may come even out of it—He that makes the wrath of man praise him can with equal ease make their pride terminate in his glory."

That it was not, entirely at least, pride and imitation of the First Church that led to the erection of the new building is shown by the numerous discussions, beginning in 1803, over ending the awkward situation of worshipping in two places. This in itself was great enough to make the people want a new building, though it is surprising to see three large churches being built in the midst of war. The union of the Fair Haven and White Haven Churches had not united the buildings or their ownership. Each group was attached to its house of worship, and the immediate solution of the difficulty was to hold services in them in alternate months, beginning in the White Haven meeting-house in December, 1796. This involved the delicate question of seating half the congregation as they moved back and forth across the Green. Many found this to be an excellent reason for not attending service. One of the numerous committees formed to deal with the situation reported in 1807 that "many valuable members of the United Society are strongly opposed to the mode of going from one meeting house to the other to attend Public Worship and that this objection deters some good citizens from becoming members of said Society. Under these circumstances your Committee beg Leave to give it as their opinion that the Society must shortly decrease in numbers, in Wealth and in respectability unless some different arrangement can be made."

Another pressing question was paying for repairs, needed with increasing urgency by the "decayed condition" of the two old buildings. Finally in March, 1812, after many considerations of the matter, it became possible to make the sensible decision that "it is expedient that a New Meeting House be erected." Perhaps the fact that the First Church was erecting a new building had some influence in bringing them to this decision. The question

of location took less time to settle, for the site on the Green was obviously better than the one at Church and Elm Streets, and had the added advantage that the latter site could be turned into money.

It was not possible to raise enough money by subscription to pay for a new building, so a different plan was tried, somewhat like the one used by the First Church and by the White Haven Church when its building was remodeled in 1764. A special committee of twenty men, contractors they were called, undertook its construction, underwritten against loss by several persons guaranteeing a certain amount. The contractors were to have practical oversight. So the arrangement with the mason who was to build the foundation and underpinning provided that one or more members of the committee "shall constantly work at and superintend the laying of s^d foundation and underpinning until the same shall be completed . . . and that the same shall be completed in a neat, substantial and workmanlike manner."

The committee was to be reimbursed by the sale of seven-eighths of the pews, which were bought and sold like any piece of real estate and conveyed by deed. In return for making over to the Society one eighth of the pews (or pews to the value of \$2500 if the Society preferred), the contractors were to have the two old meeting-houses and the land on which the White Haven building stood. From these sources they were to keep enough money to repay them for the cost of the building, plus interest. If more than a reasonable amount was realized the balance was to be turned over to the church; if there was loss, the Society would make good the deficiency. It turned out that the cost of the building was a little more than \$33,000, that the contractors paid the Society about \$5500, and that the Society chose to keep their share of the pews as designated.

It has already been explained how financial needs made it necessary in 1833 for the church to try to get control of the pews in order to derive an income from their rental. Ownership of pews by the society also left it free to repair or alter the building without having to obtain the consent of the pew owners.

The directions given the committee of twenty were that they should put up a brick building larger than either of the old ones, and "on a scale to meet the demands of the times." It is said to be one of the last buildings in New Haven in which the bricks are

laid with the Flemish bond. The amount of increase in scale needed to meet increased demands may be seen by comparing the size of the new building—4700 square feet, with that of the Fair Haven meeting-house, 3600, the larger of the two old buildings.

A general preliminary plan was made by a member of the committee, Ebenezer Johnson, Jr., said to have been a shoemaker by trade. At the time he was not a member of the church, but he joined in 1817, and was for many years one of the choristers. His plans were developed by the architect and builder David Hoadley, who underbid Ithiel Town, the builder of Center and Trinity Churches. David Hoadley was a self-made man who had learned the carpenter trade as a boy, and developed into a builder and architect. He came from Waterbury, but had been in New Haven before, in 1800, to build the Bristol house which stood on the site of the present Public Library. He built other churches in Connecticut, but among all his fine work the United Church is considered his masterpiece.

On November 29, 1815, the committee turned over the building to the Society, keeping for themselves pew number nine, now slips 105 and 107. They said "they would acknowledge his [God's] goodness in enabling them to accomplish so great an undertaking with so much harmony and prosperity.—They would also express a fervent desire that the house may prove a blessing, and a bond of union to the Society and be the means of the future growth and prosperity of the same." On its part the Society voted thanks to the committee for "their distinguished liberality . . . appropriate taste . . . unwearied care and attention . . . and for the elegant and finished style" of the edifice. Mr. Hoadley too was thanked in a formal vote as meriting "the approbation of this Society for the substantial elegant and workmanlike manner in which he has performed his contract; and that he be recommended to the Public for his skill and fidelity in his profession."

Mr. Hoadley bought pew number 51 for \$300 and he and his family were connected with the church for several years. He was born in Waterbury in 1774 and died in New Haven. Rachel Beecher Hoadley, his wife, joined the church by certificate August, 1817, and in 1839 as widow was dismissed to the church in East Haddam. A son, George Edward, was baptized June 3, 1819; another son, David, Jr., joined the New Haven Grays in 1824. In 1820 the architect was still interested in the building, serving

on the committee for a new bell. A tablet to his memory has been placed in the vestibule of the church.

Barber said, "The audience room is surpassed by few, if any, in our country," a view sustained by modern opinion. The building is one of three in New Haven, and of ten in Connecticut recently surveyed by the Civic Works Administration, with measurements and plans so complete that if it were destroyed an exact reproduction could take its place. The church itself had already taken such measurements.

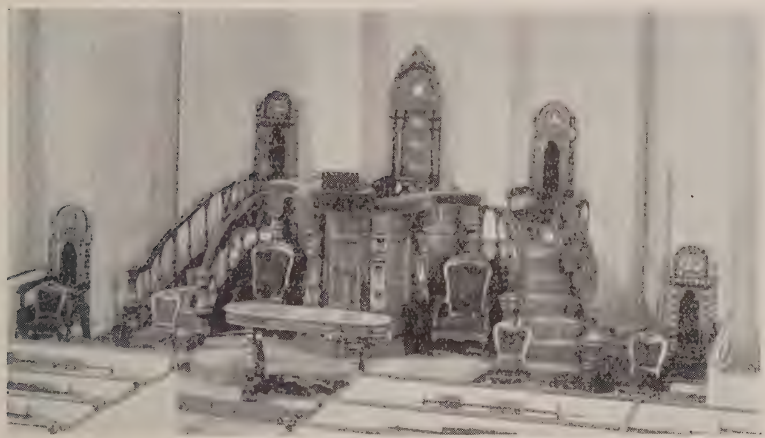
The lumber for the building had to be brought down the Connecticut River. The British were blockading Long Island Sound and it was necessary for Mr. Hoadley to apply to their commander, Commodore Hardy, for permission to take it through the blockade. This was readily granted, Mr. Hardy saying that he was making no war on religion, and at the same time wondering somewhat suspiciously at the "devilish piety" of a town where three churches were being built in war time.

The plans followed a fashion popular at the time—adapting to the familiar colonial architecture the newly approved Greek-Classical style. This combined a steeple or belfry such as Sir Christopher Wren put on his London parish churches with the pillars of a Greek temple. In the interior the pews under the galleries were square, except the two nearest the doors. Current style was also followed in the pulpit, which was mahogany resting on tall fluted columns. A section of one of these columns is now used to support the baptismal font. The pulpit was raised above the congregation high enough for the minister to be seen over the high railings of the pews and the large bonnets of the ladies. Three glass chandeliers of great beauty were hung over the central aisle, the larger one in the middle.

Because of the war with Great Britain, materials suitable for upholstery were no longer imported from Europe. But one of the committee, Eleazar Foster—or his wife—was equal to the situation. Recalling that the wedding dress of an ancestor, made during similar conditions during the Revolution, was of red silk curtain damask, and that it was still preserved in another branch of the family, Mr. and Mrs. Foster drove to Sturbridge (Mass.) and brought back the skirt, which supplied enough material for the cushions of the pulpit. A small piece of this has been preserved. Another member of the committee, Mr. Johnson, and



THE CHANDELIER



THE PULPIT

his wife obtained red material for the pew cushions, driving to Boston for the purpose. The taste of modern decorators has substituted green for the color originally chosen, and fashion has not yet swung back to red.

Although the building was handed over to the Society late in November, 1815, and was dedicated December 20, it was not yet complete in all its details. Blinds in the steeple were hung in 1816 and various additions and changes were made in the tower, one being the Doric cornice at the top of the brick work. In November, 1817, the contractors reported that everything was finished, and paid for—window blinds, chandeliers, and the new bell.

One modern essential was lacking, provision for heat. At this time many members held the view that as their fathers worshipped in a cold building, heat in a church was detrimental to religion and an unworthy concession to the weakness of the flesh, but for some reason the contractors provided a chimney in the steeple. For several years the congregation clung to Spartan customs, yielding illogically only to foot stoves, and thawing out in the intermission between services in "Sabba day houses," or at the homes of friends. The minister, Mr. Merwin, in spite of the exertions of preaching, sometimes appeared in the pulpit wearing overcoat and gloves, just as President Dwight in the pulpit of the College Chapel wore an overcoat with a triple cape. Installation of stoves was suggested in January, 1820, and a report on them was "prepared, read, considered and negatived" in December, 1824, but three years later the pro-heat party was able to get a favorable vote. Minor changes were made from time to time. In 1841 the society considered removing the blind to the pulpit window and putting a hanging drapery in its place. This suggestion was negatived, but the next year the Society's Committee was "authorized and directed to close the pulpit window by plank or otherwise in a substantial manner, so as to prevent the entrance of light and air." In 1848 it considered selling two chandeliers and buying "four or more lamps for lighting the house in a thorough manner."

In 1850 many changes were made in the building at a cost of \$10,000, under the direction of Sidney Mason Stone, a member of the church. Mr. Stone (1803-1882) was born in Milford. He joined the North Church in 1832. His wife, Harriet Mulford, was a daughter of a shipping merchant, who on each Sunday

with his wife and twelve children occupied one of the original square pews in the church. Mr. Stone became a successful architect. Among the many churches designed by him was the third building of the Third Church, later used as the Public Library.

At this time an alcove or apse was added, the galleries were lowered, the square pews under the galleries were made into slips, except one on the south side belonging to James Brewster, which was not changed until after his death in 1867. Furnaces were installed and lighting by gas introduced. A new hand carved pulpit, the present one, was built, lower than the original "eagle's nest." The smaller chandeliers were removed² and the central one repaired. The outside of the building was painted, a matter that had been discussed as early as 1833.

The building had a feature unusual at that time, a lecture room. While preaching was the only service, a large audience room was all that was necessary in a church building. In this, as in the matter of the chimney, either the contractors or Mr. Hoadley seem to have been endowed with prophetic vision. This room was used for the Sunday School and all other meetings until the present chapel was acquired. An organ was installed in 1818, the second in New Haven, largely as a result of the efforts of Daniel Read, the leader of the choir, a composer of hymn tunes, and a publisher of many singing books. This organ was given in 1850 to the Society and exchanged (plus \$3000) for a new one, largely through the efforts of Deacon Knevals. In 1868 another organ was bought, and a fourth a few years ago.

In 1887 more changes were made, under the direction of the architect David R. Brown. At this time the pitch of the gallery was lowered, one row of seats removed and the circular stairs in the vestibule were changed to ones with square landings. Again in 1937 extensive general repairs were necessary. The most important change made at this time was the removal of the paint from the outside, restoring to its original state the fine brick work. In the course of the work weatherbeaten shingles were found on top of the brick base of the tower. It seems a reasonable conjecture that workers used material conveniently at hand from the recently demolished Fair Haven meeting-house. If this is a correct

² They were sold—one to the Episcopal Church in Durham, and the other to the Episcopal Church in Woodbury.

explanation, it is interesting to speculate whether other material from the old buildings might have been used in other parts.

The cellar is paved with old bricks formerly used for the sidewalk in front of the Parish House on Temple Street. When these were removed a few years ago to make way for a more modern type of sidewalk, Mr. Lindwall saved them for the church. Discovered in the cellar during the last alterations was an old lantern too broken to be used, which was reproduced as a lighting fixture over the front door. The original was mended and is kept in the Parish House. The chairs in the pulpit and the bell in the steeple are from the Third Church. The sofas formerly used in the pulpit are in the Parish House and the old bell, cast in 1827 by Lyon and Mix of New Haven, hangs in the German Lutheran Church on George Street.

Again in 1937 a member of the church had charge of the work of renovation, Mr. LeRoy M. Hildreth, one of the deacons. The church was fortunate in having once more the trained service of a professional builder, one of its own members, who generously gave unwearied oversight of the work, with an appreciation of the character and beauties of the building. The advice of George Dudley Seymour has been of great value, especially in connection with some of the tablets.¹ Too great gratitude cannot be felt to these men—Ebenezer Johnson, David Hoadley and the committee who planned and built this beautiful house of worship; and to the later men—Sidney M. Stone, David R. Brown, and LeRoy M. Hildreth—who have maintained it unspoiled and in good repair for nearly a century and a quarter. Changes have been needed and made, but the 'substantial elegance' so heartily admired by the men of 1815 has been kept, the dignified restraint of the ornament and the clear simplicity of the plain glass windows so suited to the building and to the "New Light" which it inherited and for which it has ever stood. "The Puritan church architecture," said Mr. Denison, ". . . aimed to make a building in which art was reduced to its simplest terms and a clear way left for the spirit. . . . The souls of those who worshipped here were to meet God in the plain light of truth."

The Third Church had three meeting-houses. The first built in 1829 and located at the corner of Chapel and Union Streets is

¹ The tablet in the vestibule to David Hoadley was presented by Mr. Seymour. He has always been deeply interested in the building.



THIRD BUILDING OF THE THIRD CHURCH

described by an old resident of New Haven as a "brick structure with a high basement fronting on Union Street; its approach on Chapel Street was by a long flight of steps, surmounted by two large brick columns, similar to those of the old State House." This was the building lost in 1838.

The second building, located on the south side of Court Street, was of wood, finished in Grecian style throughout, the exterior in the Doric style. The dimensions of the building were about fifty-nine feet by eighty-seven, including the portico and the addition which formed the recess for the pulpit. An octagonal steeple was surmounted by a circular spire, nine feet in diameter at the base and fifty feet high. The slips were "furnished in the

modern style of sofa seats, with mahogany scrolls and book racks." In concluding his description of the building, Mr. Cleveland said, "The structure does great credit to the architect, Mr. Sidney M. Stone, of this city, for the neatness, simplicity and effect of its *tout ensemble*." It was dedicated December 7, 1841.

In 1856 the third meeting-house of the Third Church was dedicated. It was located on Church Street near Chapel Street, opposite the Green. The church had considered building on Wooster Square and on Elm Street, but was unable to secure possession of the lots it wished for a site. Mr. Matthew G. Elliott was in charge of erecting the building. It was constructed of Portland free stone, in what was called the Ancient Norman style. The lot was ninety by one hundred fifty-eight feet, the building sixty by one hundred twenty, with a tall square tower. Its structure showed the development of church activities that had taken place, for it contained, besides the audience room, a pastor's study, a lecture room, a committee room and an upstairs hall, twenty by sixty feet, for the Sunday School and social gatherings. The furniture came from Bowditch's and a thirty dollar Bible was presented for the pulpit. After union with the North Church, the building passed through the hands of various owners, among them Mr. Bowditch, who bought it at auction, and it was finally acquired by the city and used as a Public Library for about twenty years. It was torn down in 1912 and the stone used to build the wall around the property of St. Francis Orphan Asylum. The cornerstone was placed in the south wall of the extension to the Parish House.

CHAPTER XIII

OTHER CHURCH PROPERTY

When the White Haven Church succeeded in 1749 in having a minister, Mr. Curtiss, it bought a lot on the south side of Elm Street between Church and Orange Streets, and on it built a parsonage. Part of the work at least was done by members of the church. On the departure of Mr. Curtiss the society bought back the place and it was used by the next minister, Mr. Bird. When he resigned in 1767, he bought it, and the property was kept in the Bird family until 1849, when it was sold for \$4900, and the lot became the site of St. Thomas Church. The property had been owned by the Bird family for ninety-eight years and before that for the same length of time by the Todd family. The house was sold for \$100 and moved to Ashmun Street (number 40). Here it was inhabited mostly by some of the Irish families who were coming to New Haven in great numbers. At length the timbers became unsafe, and the house was torn down in 1923. Some of the panelling was saved. Besides the fact that it was injured by the British in 1779, the house is of interest as having been the probable stopping place of George Whitfield on some of his later journeys through New Haven. A romantic tale one would like to believe is that when it was moved a pot of gold was found under the chimney.

When the White Haven Church was installing the next minister in 1769, committees were appointed to find the cost of buying a lot and building a parsonage. Instead a house and three quarters of an acre of land were bought, which belonged to the Episcopal Church. Though directed to spend £400, the committee were obliged to pay \$410. In a financial rearrangement with Mr. Edwards made in 1782, the house was sold to him, and on his leaving New Haven it was bought from him by one of his parishioners, Simeon Baldwin, who went there to live.

From this time the church was without a parsonage until 1923. Mr. Merwin lived in his own house on the south side of Broadway,

about half way between York and Park Streets;¹ Mr. Dutton lived on College Street; Mr. Clark bought a house on Grove Street, and later on Elm Street; Mr. Hawes lived on Elm Street; Dr. Munger on Elm, Wall, and in a house he built on Prospect Street, now the home of the chaplain of Yale University.

For many years need was felt for another building than the meeting-house on the Green, or for other rooms than it contained. The lecture room was becoming inadequate for the week-day religious meetings, the Sunday School, and the social gatherings, and there was trouble over ventilation. As early as 1841 inquiries were made into the cost of building a new lecture room, but it was considered inexpedient. In 1867 the alternative was proposed of raising the church building to make room in the basement, or of building a lecture room. The minister, Mr. Clark, later began to make special efforts to get better quarters for church activities. In 1871, Mrs. Lois Chapin gave \$2000 towards a fund to build a chapel. Five years later the will of Mrs. Catherine St. John Phelps made provision for buying her house on Temple Street near Elm, with the furniture, at the appraised value. The house is said to have been built by John C. Sanford about 1840; it is also thought that it may have been built about ten years earlier by Ithiel Towne. Early in 1877 the society decided to buy the house and opened subscriptions to a Chapel Fund, and it was voted to merge the Chapin Fund with this. Eighty persons contributed, besides the "ladies collectively."

The ladies voted to raise \$600 to help buy the property, and as they raised more than \$100 over that amount, they decided to buy all the furniture mentioned in the inventory. Later they raised money for carpets, dishes, and other equipment. Various devices were used to make money for this purpose.

The quarters in the chapel were soon outgrown and in 1886, following plans made by R. G. Russell, the architect, the building was enlarged by an addition fifty by fifty-five feet, two stories high, which cost about \$10,000. Part of this sum was raised by subscription and part came from Third Church money. A few years later, the two downstairs rooms were made into the present "middle room." Still later, 1911, more alterations, including building out to the street line in front, added the Ladies Parlor,

¹ According to a map prepared by Mr. Arnold G. Dana.

the church office, the pastor's study, and the deacon's room now used by the assistant pastor. Since 1912 it has been called the Parish House.

Other buildings belonging to the churches were those erected for the Mission Sunday Schools. The one belonging to the North Church on Dixwell Avenue was sold to the colored church and by them later moved back as an addition to their new building. The Olivet Mission building belonging to the Third Church was sold in 1873.

The church silver should not be omitted in any account of its property. In early years it was necessary to borrow communion cups, until in 1784 Deacon Austin used some surplus money of that given for communion expenses and bought two silver cups. These were among the extra silver given in 1884 to Miss Sarah Hume for poor churches among the heathen. About 1820 two flagons and four platters were bought and a few years later, 1829, one flagon and two platters were given the African church. In 1891 two cups not in use were given to a church in Wisconsin under the pastoral care of Mr. F. B. Richards, a former assistant minister of the United Church. Some of these gifts were possible because after the union with the Third Church there were two sets of communion silver. Of the large cups belonging to the church six without handles came from the Third Church, and eight two-handled ones belonged to the North Church. From the time of the union of the churches in 1884 until 1901 each of the six deacons who served at communion carried one North Church cup and one Third Church cup. They were filled from the silver tankard. In 1901 individual silver cups were presented by Simeon E. Baldwin. Six silver plates were given the church in 1903 by Deacon Gilbert in memory of his wife who had been active in church work. The ones previously used now serve as collection plates, in place of the long-handled wooden "corn-poppers" which preceded them.

The oldest piece of silver is a cup given the White Haven Church by its first deacon, Isaac Dickerman in 1754 as a token of his love and affection. It was made by John Dixwell, son of the Regicide, and is described in the records as "A Silver Cup with two Handles Containing about a Pinte Bear measure . . . to be used by the Church in Remembrance of the Donor." Another cup was probably given by his niece, Mary Dickerman Todd,

when she joined the church in 1755, and a third marked William Greenough was probably his gift. In 1761 the church recorded thanks to Samuel Bishop, another deacon, who, after having declared his belief in the doctrines of the White Haven Church "as a summary of sound and saving Doctrines, desiring and willing that this church may continue on said foundation to the latest posterity hath of his great affection to said Church given forever for the use of baptizing one silver basin containing about two quarts in measure." This bowl was remodeled in 1851.

CHAPTER XIV

FIRST MINISTERS OF THE WHITE HAVEN CHURCH

Preceding chapters have described the long process of the formation of the church, its organization and activities. But the church is not an impersonal thing. It is made up of individuals both in the pulpit and the pews, individuals whose characteristics determine the character of the church. It is fitting first to consider the men in the pulpit, and in doing this it is necessary to return to the earliest days of the church.

In the beginning, it was without a minister for seven years, sometimes even without preaching because of difficulties placed in the way by civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Sometimes the people were reduced to listening to sermons read from a book. Lack of preaching and clerical services, however does not seem to have been the condition in the first two or three months of 1742, the exciting time when the church was taking the first steps in forming its independent life. Many New Light ministers came to preach, to administer the sacraments, and to give advice and the encouragement of their moral support.

From the diary of John Cleaveland, the student quoted in an earlier chapter, and from other sources, it is possible to make a fairly complete calendar of the visits of these preachers and exhorters. The number of men, the frequency of their visits, and the excitement roused give a picture of continued agitation in New Haven. The list contains the names of men prominent in Connecticut and at least one from outside the colony. The number of meetings, often held several times a week, and sometimes twice a day, when preachers were available, shows how serious were the intentions of the seceders and how deep an interest was aroused in the community. The last days of January, 1742, for example, were an especially active and critical time, and young Cleaveland was speaking conservatively when he said during this week, "Much disturbance in this town." Six different ministers preached to the Separatists between January 24 and 31. It must

be remembered that the appetite of the time for sermons was large. In March young Cleaveland wrote of himself, "Since last Friday [week] I have heard thirteen sermons."

The men who came to preach during this week in January were those who were to help in the councils that advised the group and organized the church. There was John Graham from Southbury, Joseph Bellamy from Bethlehem, Jedediah Mills from Ripton, Philemon Robbins from Branford, a Mr. S. who "preached exceedingly well," and Benajah Case from Simsbury. All were active in religious affairs in Connecticut, but most dominant was the one called "Our Sovereign Lord Bellamy" by those who resented his autocratic ways. On one occasion, when Philemon Robbins was the preacher, young Cleaveland disobeyed Rector Clap's rule that students must not attend these meetings. He had been tempted to do this before, but this time he "broke out and went and heard him preach on Gen. 19: 17 and he spake as a man sent from God to warn me of my sin and danger." Of a meeting when Mr. Bellamy preached he recorded that "many Christians were stirred up and enlivened." It may be added that soon young Cleaveland and his brother went home, not to return to college. They and David Brainerd were expelled for attending New Light meetings—the Cleavelands for meetings in Canterbury, attended at their parents' request.

The difficulties these ministers might meet in coming to the Separatists are illustrated by the experience of Mr. Case, who was just out of jail for having preached to dissenters in Milford. The result of his visit here was what might have been expected. He was presented to the County Court as a "transient person who did this day contrary to the Law . . . with sundry other persons convene in New Haven at the now hired dwelling house of James Pierpont and then and there as a minister administered the ordinances of prayer and preaching, distinct, separate, and in opposition to that which is openly and publicly dispensed by the approved minister of the place." The case seemed doubtful for some reason, and was not prosecuted.

This last eventful week in January was also the time when the First Church voted to adopt the Saybrook Platform and to make complaint to the County Consociation against the uneasy brethren. It was also the week in which the seceders received permission from the County Court to have separate worship.

In the following weeks the same men continued to come at intervals to preach, and in addition the Rev. Mr. Parsons came from Lyme; he had travelled to New Haven in 1740 to hear Whitefield. In May these men were members of the council that organized the church, and for a few months two of them, Bellamy and Graham, and after them Eleazar Wheelock from Lebanon supplied the pulpit. The latter was said by President Stiles to be a "religious politician" and "exceedingly zealous in preaching the Gospel." But they could not leave their own churches indefinitely and early in 1743 the church asked that the Rev. James Sproat might become their minister. He was a young Yale graduate (1741), born in Massachusetts. Converted while in college by the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, he was prominent among young leaders of the New Lights. He had been arrested at New Haven as an itinerant and escorted by the constables as far as Saybrook. In 1743 he applied to the County Court at New Haven to take the necessary oath to preach to the Separatists. But that body, having heard "the said Sproat and counsel thereof, are of opinion that the said Sproat hath not shown himself to have any right by law to what was asked for, and therefore do not see cause to grant the request." This refusal is considered an act of illegal oppression, contrary to the Act of Toleration. Mr. Sproat then became pastor of a church in Guilford and later of the one in Philadelphia formerly occupied by Gilbert Tennent. He might not have been of great assistance, for he was "rent from his chh at Guilford without their consent to get a better settlement at Philadel^a."

At the request of James Pierpont, Dr. Samuel Finley, an Irishman like Tennent, later President of Princeton, came from New Jersey to preach to the Separatists this year. He might have hesitated to do this, for like Mr. Case, he had been in difficulties for similar efforts in Milford, and there was no reason to think he would be treated differently in New Haven. He came, however, and was arrested, an action that was doubtless no surprise to any one. It was reported that through negligence, perhaps intentional, of some officers the sentence was only partly executed, but he persisted in returning and preaching again. The story is that part of his punishment for these efforts was to be taken to the First Church, made to sit in the aisle, and listen to the "approved minister" of the place. This proceeding could not have been up-

lifting to any one. He was presented to the Grand Jury which, according to the law, ordered him to be carried out of the colony as a vagrant and to pay the expenses incurred in connection with his departure. It is worth quoting the description of him given by President Stiles as a sample of the way most New Light preachers appeared to their Old Light brethren. "He was a boisterous Preacher & filled his Sermons with too much Gall & Invective. Yet he laboured to do good with great Sincerity. He was not studied in Divinity & Moral Philosophy." Mr. Stiles acknowledged that he was a good classical scholar.

In 1745 Mr. Whitefield was in New Haven for a second visit. He was not allowed in the First Church, and preached out of doors in front of Mr. Pierpont's house. His influence at this time was slight as compared with that of 1740.

The first man to remain as resident minister any length of time or except as a visiting preacher was the Rev. John Curtiss (1701-1764). Like most of the others, though older than many of them, he was a graduate of Yale (1719). He studied for the ministry, but after preaching for a time as a candidate, he went into business in New London. When the Great Awakening began, he manifested great zeal as a follower of James Davenport. Mr. Curtiss was called as minister to the White Haven Church in March, 1749, after apparently having preached there since the preceding October. He was not ordained, and remained only until October, 1750. When he left, the Society tried to induce him to give back the house which was built for him, according to the original arrangement, but they were obliged to buy it.

The first regularly settled minister, the Rev. Samuel Bird, came to New Haven recommended, as he said in the records, as a "meat person." After hearing him preach for three months, the society concurred with the church and signified "by y^e up-lifted hand" that they "coveted" him as minister. In the ecclesiastical council called on this occasion were men who had helped organize the church and carry it on during the hard years—John Graham, Jedediah Mills, Philemon Robbins, Eleazar Wheelock, Benajah Case, and Joseph Bellamy.

Mr. Bird (1724-1784) was a young man twenty-seven years of age, a native of Dorchester, Mass., who had been preaching in Dunstable for two or three years. Like Mr. Sproat, Mr. Case and Mr. Finley, he had suffered for his faith, having been ex-

pelled from Harvard College because of his New Light activities shortly before he would have been graduated in 1744. He was fined 12 shillings for a seventeen day absence from college without leave in the autumn of 1743, perhaps while going about as an itinerant. Among the settled clergy on whom he cast aspersions was included, with singular lack of discretion, one of the Overseers of the college. This gentleman brought the matter before the Faculty, that naturally disciplined the student.

Mr. Bird delayed accepting the call to the pulpit of the White Haven Church until it had tried to smooth over difficulties with the First Church, since public opinion was critical of the way in which the seceders had carried through the separation. After the society was incorporated, he was called again by that body in 1760.

He was a man of good abilities, but though not a profound scholar, in the days when scholarship was a quality particularly admired in a minister, he had endowments often lacking in more intellectual men. Mr. Stiles recalled that when he himself was considering the offer to become president of Yale and was asking the opinion of every one of importance, Mr. Bird gave him advice that was "friendly and weighty." Like a sensible man, Mr. Bird pointed out the difficulties and discouragements of the situation, and the impossibility of satisfying both the college and the public, and though he favored Mr. Stiles' acceptance of the invitation, "was cautious not to urge with the Importunity of others." Yet the best the president said of Mr. Bird when he died was that he was a "man of religion." That, after all, is a good epitaph for a minister, and in this case should be considered in connection with the statement that one of the reasons why Rector Clap of Yale changed his hostile opinion of the New Lights was the impression made on him by the character and services of Mr. Bird.

He appeared well, with a commanding figure, and a powerful voice; he preached in a popular and acceptable style with impressive elocution; he was energetic and influential. Under him the church adopted the Half Way Covenant and came to outnumber the First Church and finally to obtain complete independence.

In 1768, while still a comparatively young man, forty-four years old, Mr. Bird resigned as pastor, requesting dismissal, he

said, "by reason of ye habitual state of my blood and y^e frequent return of Nervious disorders which y^e prosecution of y^e ministry tends to increase." There had been some dissatisfaction with him at one time a few years before, because of "uneasiness with the Public Conduct of the Pastor," but the few who strayed away for one reason or another had returned to the fold. When asked for explanation one of them "used shuffling evasions about the matter." Gossip among ministers ascribed his retirement to other grounds, that early in 1768 he "proposed an addition of £40 to his Salary or Dismission. The Parish thought it much easier to hold up hands for Dismission than pay £40 annually . . . Mr. Bird's People dismissed him, not he his People." The difficulty with this explanation is that he was well off. When he left he was given a gratuity of £10.

After he was "emeritus or out of the ministry," Mr. Bird went to Cornwall, Connecticut, as minister to the Second Congregational Church. It is not known how long he remained, according to one account only a few months. The minister of the First Church there, who perhaps was not entirely unbiassed, expressed an opinion of him similar to that of Mr. Stiles. "He is a very respectable minister of piety and good talents." Mr. Bird frequently substituted for Mr. Mather in the Fair Haven pulpit, preached once at least in the College Chapel, and for a time to the First Church of Milford, to which he declined a call, though offered a good salary.

His activities as minister-at-large worried Old Lights and caused many rumors as to what his future activities would be. A member of the First Church wrote, September, 1769, "'Tis supposed m^r Bird will give Milford the Negative on this Day, and then head the Discontented Party at New Haven. Quod Deus avertat." It was naturally assumed by many that he would become minister of the new church because he had been so successful in building up the White Haven Church, and also because he might come for less money as he had a good estate. At one time he was suggested as colleague to his successor in the White Haven Church, probably in an effort to smooth over difficulties there. It is hard to see how he and Jonathan Edwards could have been expected to work together. There was even a rumor that he was preaching with Mr. Whittelsey of the First Church and that he might be made colleague minister there. But as one min-



THE BLUE PARSONAGE

ister wrote, his feelings carrying him into mixed metaphors, "Is it not better for every Bird to wear his own Feathers, and Feed his own Flock—will Iron and Clay cement together?"

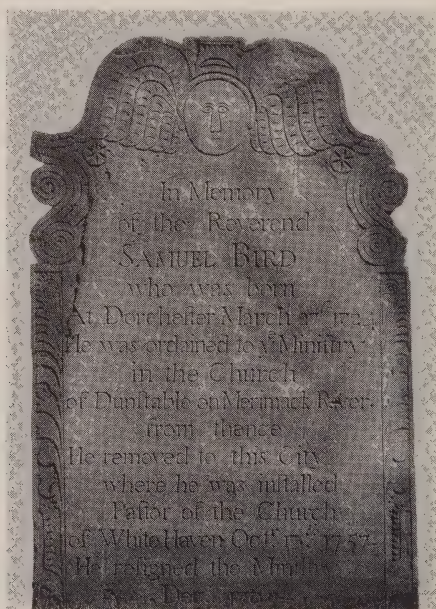
Besides preaching occasionally, Mr. Bird engaged in other occupations. The parsonage on Elm Street next to the White Haven Church, known from the color of that building as the Blue Parsonage, was now his private property, and he bought land and inherited some through his wife. Here he carried on various activities. At one time he had a boarding school, where a young lady fell in love with an Episcopalian. Her parents removed her from the school, but to no avail. He had a store in the study, and among other things dealt in an important New Haven product—flax seed—and he owned part of a mill about two miles from town on the Waterbury road. He lost much money by taking continental currency as pay from his customers and redeeming it for the poorer people. He had two negro slaves, Cuff and Lille Pink. Both were members of the church, and Cuff was brought before it more than once for discipline.

A zealous patriot in the Revolution, Mr. Bird was on the New Haven Committee of Inspection, and served as chaplain in the army. His home was so severely damaged by the British that he was allowed a large tract of land in the Western Reserve.

Mr. Bird died of smallpox in 1784, not yet an old man. President Stiles preached a funeral sermon for him and two women to a crowded congregation in the Fair Haven meeting-house, but characteristically explained the throng, not as a tribute to Mr. Bird or the two women, but as due to the absence from town of one minister so that no service was held in his meeting-house. Mr. Bird's tombstone in Grove Street Cemetery gives biographical information and adds, "He was a Gentleman of Integrity, Piety, and Patriotism."

One of his sermons was published—"An Address to Col. Wooster's Company when leaving for a campaign in 1759."

His first wife was from Charlestown, Massachusetts, and his second, Sarah Prout, was daughter of one of the founders of the church. At the time of the union of the churches in 1796 she was still alive, having joined the Fair Haven Church when it was organized. He had several children; one daughter, Mabel Sarah, amiably named for both wives, was married and lived in New Haven. Her descendants owned the Blue Parsonage until 1849.



Courtesy John M. Morse

TOMBSTONE OF THE REV. SAMUEL BIRD

CHAPTER XV

THE MINISTRY OF JONATHAN EDWARDS, JR.

After Mr. Bird's departure, the pulpit of the White Haven Church was supplied in various ways; money was paid, according to the accounts, to "Sundry Gentlemen for Preaching." Among them was Ebenezer Baldwin, tutor in the college and belonging to a family connected with the church for many years. It was reported that Mr. Sproat, whom the church had wanted in 1743, "had been invited to preach at New Haven near the Bird's Nest, and solicited to settle with them"; but, if invited, he did not come.

Nearly a year after Mr. Bird's request for dismissal the church called Jonathan Edwards, Jr., who had been supplying the pulpit occasionally. He was the second son of Jonathan Edwards of Northampton, and had so many connections with New Haven that he was almost "town-born." He was descended through his great-grandmother from William Tuttle, one of the "Seven Pillars" or founders of the church, and was connected with the family in other ways. He was nephew of James Pierpont, one of the founders of this church, for his mother was Sarah Pierpont daughter of the former pastor of the First Church.

Born in Northampton May 26, 1745, Mr. Edwards was three years younger than the church to which he was called. When his father left Northampton to work among the Indians at Stockbridge, the six-year-old boy was obliged to study and play with Indian children, for the only school in town was for both Indians and whites. In fact there were only twelve families of whites and perhaps 150 families of Indians in the town. His father wished him to become a preacher to that race and when he was not quite ten years old sent him to spend some time among the Oneidas who were living on the Susquehanna river. After a stay of only six months, the dangers of the French wars forced him to leave. He met many adventures on the way home. But here and in Stockbridge he had learned the Indian language as well or better than his own, so well that he said he thought in it. Later he wrote an authoritative treatise on the language, and as long after-



Jon^a Edwards

THE REV. JONATHAN EDWARDS, JR.

wards as when he was in New Haven, he was able to converse with Indian visitors in their own tongue. They said he managed the difficult pronunciation with a perfect accent, which no Anglo-Saxon before had been able to do. One wonders whether Jonathan Edwards Dwight, a Choctaw Indian, and member of the church from 1835 to 1839 was named for him or his father.

The elder Edwards died March, 1758, after his removal to Princeton, and his wife the following October, but in spite of poverty, their orphan son managed with the help of friends to get an education. It is pleasant to think that one of the friends might have been his mother's brother, James Pierpont of the White Haven Church. Young Edwards was graduated from Princeton in 1765 at the age of twenty. He was always an indefatigable student. Prepare well, he told a young minister later, "bring beaten oil into the sanctuary," and he himself followed the principle. His attainments as a scholar were such that when he was living in New Haven he was sometimes by request of the Faculty called on to help at public examinations of students, a duty which he took seriously. He was not the only minister to do this, but the students thought him particularly strict. In student fashion, they openly expressed their displeasure at the severity of his standards, succeeding only in making him the stricter. Among themselves they called him "Old Haud Recte" for his reluctance to admit that their answers were satisfactory.

While a student at Princeton, he was converted by the Rev. Samuel Finley, the man who had suffered for preaching to the New Lights at New Haven and Milford. Soon after graduation he studied theology with the Rev. Joseph Bellamy, a friend and correspondent of his father and a friend of the White Haven Church. In 1766 he was licensed to preach by the Association of Litchfield County, and began preaching as a candidate, but was recalled to Princeton as tutor. He filled this position for two years, 1767-1769, and was offered a professorship of Language and Logic. This he declined. During this period he preached occasionally in the White Haven Church. After supplying the pulpit and preaching for two periods, of probation, he was invited to become pastor. By birth, training, and ability this young man of twenty-three seemed an ideal choice.

Believing that infant baptism should be administered only to those whose parents were church members in full communion,

he seems to have made the abolition of the Half Way Covenant a condition of his acceptance of the call. In a sermon preached in 1771, he said, "As to any other profession of mere morality, or speculative faith, or sincerity of belief or conduct, the gospel of Christ knows nothing of it." But only a few years had passed since the church had adopted the Half Way Covenant, and a large number voted against his settlement. There was dissatisfaction with his preaching on other accounts, and it was reported that of the thirty-two men in the church eight were against him, and seventy or more of the congregation. Figures given by the two sides naturally show discrepancies. These things were brought before the ordaining councils, but members of those bodies were much impressed with the ability of the young candidate. They found his answers in the examination of such interest that they kept questioning him so long that the ordination ceremony had to be postponed several hours.

With the natural feeling that such great talents would dispel dissatisfaction if given a chance, the council ordained him in January, 1769, in spite of the objections. There was no difficulty over his ordination, as in the case of Mr. Whittelsey, and the *Connecticut Journal* and *New Haven Post Boy* reported that "A very large and crowded Assembly Convened on that Occasion who, during the whole Solemnity, gave the most serious, devout and exemplary attention." Some ministers criticized the management of the ceremony because Mr. Whittelsey of the First Church had received no attention. Old and New Lights were still suspicious of each other. The Rev. William Hart of Saybrook wrote of the "ungentlemanly way" in which Mr. Whittelsey was treated, adding with the plain speaking of the time, "Whence is it that bastard bigotted Zeal is always such an unmannerly clown"?

The hopes of the council and of Mr. Edwards were not fulfilled. Dissatisfaction not only remained but increased, until as a newspaper said, "above Half the Society were not suted with him." The seventy or more against him at the time of the ordination grew within a few months to eighty-one, "said to be about ninety in heart," were reported to be forming a new congregation. In less than a year this came to pass and the Fair Haven Church was organized.

Mr. Edwards was unlike his popular predecessor in many ways. Perhaps today they would be called respectively introvert and extrovert. In intellectual equipment he was far above Mr. Bird, and his is one of the great names in the history of the church. He was a leading thinker of the time, widely known and influential as a theologian and metaphysician. Of one sermon, President Dwight said "it was perhaps the most able and powerfully eloquent discourse to which he ever listened." Not only was he described as a great master of logic, but also as mighty in the Scriptures, as one should be whose father and grandfather Edwards were ministers, besides four or five generations of that calling in his mother's family. Indeed he may have been bred in too theological an atmosphere to enable him to come close to his people as a pastor.

To the surprise of his hearers his sermons were sometimes plain and practical, for usually they were too deep to interest ordinary people, or were even unintelligible to them, though in later life they were said to be less metaphysical and argumentative. Their outlines presented an elaborate pattern, and the doctrines were developed in strictly logical fashion. The method of presentation was to argue, to define, to refine, and to present objections in order to refute them. Perhaps this was the method used in an instance described by Jedediah Morse. In 1784 a man named Murray, a Universalist, was in New Haven, who excelled, said Mr. Morse, in the "declamatory." But Mr. Edwards "with his Eagle Eyes—sees quite through him—and has attacked him with success—which is believed to have hastened his departure."¹

The topics on which he preached were often the "hard sayings" of the New Divinity of the day—total depravity, the decrees of God, election, justification by faith, regeneration of the Holy Spirit, and other controversial points. A doctrine in which he was especially interested was the relation of God to man through Christ, and he was author of what came to be known as the Edwardean theory of the atonement. In a sermon entitled "Christ crucified," he said, "The doctrine of the atonement is the very essence of the evangelical system. Without it Christianity is not essentially different from any other religion." Teaching concerning the atonement had been that if Christ died for all men,

¹ Quoted in the *New England Quarterly* for Dec. 1941, p. 698.

the salvation of an individual was an act of divine justice; if he died for the elect, it was an act of divine sovereignty. The "improvement" made by the younger Edwards was that the salvation of men was an act of divine benevolence. The atonement of Christ did not pay the debt of all men, but by furnishing "satisfaction" for the punishment of sinners, made it possible for God either to save all men, or those whom He chose, and that He could do this on any condition He made. Thus salvation, which was necessary because of the sinful nature of man, was an act of divine grace or benevolence. The heinousness of sin and the authority of the divine law were shown by the extent of Christ's sufferings.

His choice of subjects illustrated an important effect of the Great Awakening, whose first enthusiasm was followed by intense study of theology. Mr. Edwards developed his father's teaching and became a great exponent of New Divinity—really a return to many of the doctrines of Calvinism.

His sermons were long, sometimes lasting an hour and a quarter, usually delivered from short notes and without concessions to popularity of style. He was as uncompromising in this as in other things. It was remarked that there was "but little of the tinsel of ornament or glitter of expression" in his style. His son-in-law said that he "looked with deep contempt upon the blustering declamation in the pulpit which gratifies without instructing the vulgar portion of the community." But his sermons are readable and contain many forthright and striking sentences. The opening of one was "All mankind are by nature criminals"; another said of certain teachings, "They are no more than splendid lies"; another, "Even the Christian is like one rowing against the stream." The doctrine that works of morality are good works, he said, "is a deceitful refuge—a mere refuge of lies. . . . They are no more than splendid sins."

Nor was the average listener beguiled by an attractive manner or eloquent gestures. Perhaps typical of his attitude towards them, it is said that he seldom looked at his congregation, spoke rather rapidly, and his voice with its nasal twang was not pleasing. He might be called a preacher's preacher, but if he had had a little of the dramatic power of Whitefield or his marvellous voice, he should have had no difficulty in gaining the large following which his abilities promised. But the Spartan combination of deep

thinking, plain writing, or rather delivery, together with the dissatisfaction with some of his doctrines, and his rather forbidding personality, made it impossible for him to win large numbers of people either in the pulpit or outside.

He once asked Dr. Strong of Hartford why his own sermons did not produce the results that Dr. Strong's did, since their congregations were so much alike and their systems of truth the same. The answer was, "*You* present Gospel truth as a proposition to be proved, and go on and prove it; whereas *I* endeavor to exhibit it as something already admitted, and to impress it on the heart and conscience." The trouble was deeper than that, for, as Dr. Munger said, he was out of touch with the times. He continued to preach on "ability" and similar topics long after men were feeling interest in other aspects of religion than speculative theology. A reason even deeper than fashions in thinking is suggested by a remark of Horace Bushnell's about himself as a young man, that he was "expecting so intently to dig out a religion by my head that I was pushing it all the while practically away."

Mr. Edwards was in great demand on public occasions, which were then considered proper times for doctrinal discussions. He preached many ordination sermons, and was often called on to fill the college pulpit, appearing there at least twenty-five times between April, 1781, and December, 1794. Besides recording the subjects and texts of many of his sermons, President Stiles sometimes added comments such as "handled well" or "excellent sermon." Yet Mr. Edwards never was made a member of the Yale Corporation, though many New Light ministers felt aggrieved that he was not chosen for that position. He was mentioned with several others as a proper candidate for the professorship of Divinity, but a younger man was chosen. This would have been an appropriate position for one of his qualities and temperament. He had had experience along these lines too, for he was one of the three men in Connecticut who were active and prominent in preparing young men for the ministry. He had many pupils, several of whom became famous. On a trip to the new settlements in New York state in 1791 he organized three churches, over one or two of which pupils of his were placed.

Mr. Edwards seems never to have shed his ministerial attitude with his gown, for he was much the same out of the pulpit as in.

"Walking, riding, conversation and reading were the only amusements," said his biographer, "in which he indulged himself, and he endeavoured as much as possible to make his business serve as a recreation from study." One can but wonder whether experiences as a boy among the Indians had something to do with his reserve. When he conversed he liked it to be on weighty topics in religion and science; he regarded it apparently as a serious and improving exercise. In the "conversational debates" of which he was fond, he made his opponent define his terms exactly and then followed the Socratic method of using the definitions against him. He had no lighter graces of manner, brilliancy of wit, small talk or quickness of repartee, and the expression of his countenance was serious if not severe.

This second minister of the church is the first of whom we have a description and a picture, a portrait by Moulthrop. He seems to have been of medium height, for while one person described him as rather short, another said he was above medium stature. He was slender, with very dark hair and complexion. His features were bold and prominent, his eyes extremely keen and piercing, his manner distant. On the whole his appearance and manner were said to be unprepossessing.

A kindred spirit in many ways in the White Haven Church, a man of equally few words was the one whom he described as "my great and good friend, Senator Sherman." They were interested in the same subjects and Mr. Edwards said that 'in the course of a long and intimate acquaintance, he was materially instructed by Mr. Sherman's observations on the principal subjects of doctrinal and practical divinity.'

An anecdote illuminating Mr. Edwards' character describes his conduct when President Washington visited New Haven during a tour of New England. The President was in town over Sunday, and accompanied by the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, the Speaker, and the Mayor of the city attended afternoon service at the White Haven meeting-house by appointment. At sermon time, Mr. Edwards arose in the tall pulpit and announcing as his text the words "Train up a child in the way he should go, and he will not depart from it," said he should address his remarks to the children in the gallery. The tale of the cherry tree had not been invented, but if it had, it is certain that he would not have

used it or anything like it to enliven his discourse. He probably made no reference to the presence of the president. No doubt Washington, though surprised and perhaps a little amused and taken aback, was willing for once not to have to listen to a fulsome discourse, even if the subject was neither tactfully chosen nor particularly edifying to a childless man. He made no comment in his diary, nor was the sermon published. Neither is anything recorded about the feelings of the members of the church and the city and state dignitaries. This indifference to the presence of the president, studied or not, suggested how Mr. Edwards would react to pressure from parishioners. A man of such independence might prefer to split the church rather than change his course or give way to those whom he considered less qualified than he to judge of religious matters. In an ordination sermon he said, "If once the idea prevail, that any of you people know more in divinity, than their minister, your character will labor. Therefore you must be superior to them all; you must be able to instruct them all."

Objections to his theology that had been made before the ordination did not cease, as had been hoped, even with the departure of those who left in 1769. An additional grievance against him was his treatment of incoming members from other churches. He was said to have treated one "as a Heathen and Publican and required a new profession of Religion as he would of a newly converted heathen." So many members of other churches objected to making public declaration of their religious experiences a second time on joining this church that the requirement was abandoned. In one instance a member from the East Haven church was refused admission because Mr. Edwards disapproved of the doctrines and practice of the minister of that church. His disapproval of divergent views was not confined to home affairs. On one occasion, when he was in Hadley, he stayed away from communion in his host's church, because he would not commune with a church in whose doctrines he did not believe. Mr. Edwards was not unique or extreme in this attitude. He went and preached in the afternoon. It is surprising, therefore, to find three or four years later, when Jesse Lee, the Methodist, preached in the Fair Haven meeting-house that Mr. Edwards and his pupil, Mr. Austin, went to hear him. They did not go further than

this formal courtesy. Jesse Lee wrote, "The divines were grave and the students were attentive; they used me like a fellow Christian in coming to hear me preach and like a stranger in other respects," and that in the day when visiting preachers were entertained as a matter of course by the clergy of the town.

In a meeting in his own church Mr. Edwards publicly accused a member of holding wrong beliefs, without having followed the recognized rules of procedure and previously talked with him. This man naturally objected to such treatment, and made his objections known in a letter which condemned in violent fashion the style of Mr. Edwards' preaching. He said, "he could not be edified himself, nor trust his family with an Instructor, whose public Discourses are so much taken up with what appeared to him to be Idle distinctions of school Divinity, metaphysical, unintelligible, and dangerous Speculations, with perverse disputings, which appeared to him not to tend to godly Edification and Instruction in Righteousness, and referred to one of our Pastor's printed Sermons as a Specimen." Mr. Edwards tried unsuccessfully to expel this member.

Strictness as to church membership he felt to be his duty. "Christian discipline," he said, "is another method of exhibiting the truth, and though in itself disagreeable, is of divine institution, and is absolutely enjoined. What are the several steps of admonition, confession, and excommunication but so many different exhibitions of the truth?" In Christian discipline he told a young minister, you must "set your face like a flint." The pursuit of truth at whatever cost was his aim, and always a subject of exhortation to young ministers. Titles of some ordaining sermons were "The Manifestation of Truth the End of Preaching," "The Duty of Ministers to Preach the Truth," and "All Divine Truth Profitable."

In 1787 he received a call to the Presbyterian Church at Elizabethtown, New Jersey. Perhaps one reason for declining this was that he felt he was winning the battle in New Haven. There was more than a little justification for such a feeling. The Fair Haven Church had recently chosen as minister his pupil, Mr. Samuel Austin; New Divinity men, like New Lights of earlier years, were increasing in numbers in the New Haven County Association. So when members of his church wished to change

the Covenant and bury the hatchet with the First Church he was opposed, in spite of the fact that only a few of the male members of the church adhered to him.

Financial affairs were another cause of trouble; they were partly the result of difficulties within the church. In 1782 the Society owed Mr. Edwards £80; they had borrowed £120 from Deacon Austin and were in arrears £65 in uncollected rates. A meeting held to consider the state of the society, proposed a new contract with the minister. One of the terms was that he should buy the parsonage, paying £250, part of its value, the rest to be considered part of his settlement. His salary was to be £100 a year. He accepted the arrangement, with the reservation that if the salary should prove inadequate it would be increased.²

This partial solution of financial difficulties did not dispel dissatisfaction. In 1790, matters came almost to the breaking point over doctrine and especially over the question of communion with the other two churches in New Haven. But, after some consideration, a letter signed by some of the leading men, headed by David Austin, said that they "do as a body for the present ceases any further attempts" to make him change his opinions. Mr. Edwards on his part agreed to bury all animosities and promised to let them know of any change in his attitude. It was only a truce. There was still on the one side agitation for fellowship with the other churches, and on the other Dr. Edwards, "fixt against Coalescence and Communion." The young people were going elsewhere, the "worshipping assemblies [were] thinly attended," some members were joining the Episcopalians, and others paying their taxes unwillingly. In 1795, a committee reported that the society was in danger of dissolution. Mr. Edwards wanted to know if this report meant that he was "the guilty cause of the diminution of the Society." He was told that it did not, but that the society requested his dismissal. The church concurred.

These causes of trouble were intensified by the presence of a potential leader of the opposition, Deacon David Austin. He was, incidentally, related by marriage to the East Haven minister of whose doctrines Mr. Edwards disapproved. That Mr. Austin

² In a list of ministers given by President Stiles, Mr. Edwards is rated as one of the wealthiest ministers of Connecticut, but part, at least, of his property consisted in a large tract of land in the Genesee Valley.

was dissatisfied is evident, how active he was in opposition is not so clear. In January, 1789, he moved in church meeting the consideration of holding communion with the First Church. The question was postponed and several months later the church voted against it. Roger Sherman did not favor it, on the ground that there was diversity of sentiment between the two pastors and that some of the people opposed it. He wrote, "Let each preach his own lecture, and every one may attend either or both at pleasure." But David Austin and Jeremiah Atwater dissented from the vote of the church and had their dissent recorded. In the next year (1790) Sherman wrote his son-in-law, Simeon Baldwin, an active member of the society, in regard to the troubles, "I think that Deacon Austin could do as much to reconcile matters as any member of the society." And in May, 1795, after the dismissal of Mr. Edwards, Deacon Austin's son wrote him, "It seems a little providential that your illness was directed of God to prevent your attending the council. . . . I mean no more in the light of this event than that y^r absence from the Council takes away occasion to say that you was solely, or principally concerned in the event of Dismission." Meanwhile the death of Mr. Sherman perhaps removed a strong influence for conciliation.

The council of ministers which ended the pastorate received a report of the financial difficulties, the ostensible reason for the dismissal, so inclusive as to cover the preceding forty years. It enumerated the erection of a house for Mr. Curtiss; its purchase later from him; the settlement of Mr. Bird; the ecclesiastical tax for Mr. Noyes; repairing and enlarging the meeting-house; and the expenses on Mr. Edwards' house. The council in their subsequent report dismissing Mr. Edwards said with some sarcasm: "We lament, that the church, which for a long course of years continued respectable for numbers and property should be so far reduced, as to be unable any longer to enjoy the labors of so worthy and distinguished a Pastor. And we earnestly wish and pray, that the means, which they have taken to prevent a dissolution of the church and society may not produce the effect they were designed to prevent."

Mr. Edwards preached his farewell sermon on May 24, 1798, two days before his fiftieth birthday. Thus ended the pastorate of a high-minded, intellectual man, whose great powers would

seem to have been more suited to teaching theology to students than to the pastorate of a church. His characteristics and the reaction of the people to them show that a period was ending—that of the 18th century idea of a minister, aloof from his people, with perhaps a feeling of superiority, absorbed in special theology, intolerant of other beliefs, and doing little parish work. The times were moving away from these interests. A young Yale graduate of a few years earlier had written to Simeon Baldwin, “I observe our Priests in general to be quite too stanch, dogmatical & narrow;—I mean, with respect to their sentiment of men and occupations. To conform with them in these respects would be intolerably irksome.”

After Mr. Edwards left New Haven he became pastor of the church in Colebrook, Connecticut, and in May, 1799, was called to the presidency of Union College. He held that office only two years, and died in Schenectady, August, 1801, at the “venerable” age of fifty-six. His works in two volumes with a sketch of his life by a grandson were published in 1842. They consist of sermons, many of which had been published, and articles which had appeared in the *New York Theological Magazine*. There were also a treatise on the Indian language which was republished several times here and abroad, and an edition of his father’s works.

Mr. Edwards received academic honors. He was given the degree of M.A. by Yale in 1769, and of D.D. by Princeton in 1785. He was a member of the Connecticut Society of Arts and Sciences. It was at the request of this society that his book on the Indian language was written and first published in 1788.

He was interested in civic affairs; he preached at Freeman’s meetings and before the Governor and Assembly sometimes when their sessions were held in New Haven; he took his turn as chaplain for them. He addressed the Foot Guards on the Green on the famous occasion when they were leaving for Lexington and demanded the keys to the Powder House, and was an ardent friend and fearless advocate of the Revolution. When Roger Sherman was elected the first mayor of New Haven, Mr. Edwards urged him to accept the office, saying, “I cannot bear that the first Mayor of this infant city should be a Tory.” He was a leader in the movement against the slave trade, holding office in both local and national societies that were formed to end that

traffic. Many of his sermons are marked "Preached to the Negroes"; his sermon on "The Injustice and Impolicy of the Slave Trade," preached before the African Society by appointment, was published as a pamphlet and had great influence.

As a pastor, he visited little except the sick and poor and such as might send for him. He lived on the east side of Church Street, between Elm and Wall Streets, just around the corner from Mr. Bird's house. The house was built close to the street, with the dining room on the side towards the Green.³ The former residence of Bela Hubbard, Church of England clergyman, it had been bought by the society for Mr. Edwards, and as has been said, was afterwards sold to him as part of a new financial arrangement. The lot contained more than an acre of land, and when he left the place was bought by Simeon Baldwin for \$2500. At his settlement he was also given some other land for a pasture and an item in an account book lists the payment of money "By Pastring M^r Edwards Creatures." The society was to keep the land well farmed and the buildings in good repair.

Mr. Edwards' first wife, Mary Porter of Hadley, was drowned in a mill pond (later Lake Whitney) in June, 1782. Among those present in the crowded assembly at her funeral were "Eleven Ministers, seven of whom had lost their Wives," and the procession to the grave included "the Sisters of the Chh and the Females." Later, December 18, 1783, he married for his second wife, Mercy Sabin, a daughter of one of the well-to-do members of the White Haven Society. Her father never joined the church, and had been one of the subscribers against Mr. Edwards in 1769. He was a merchant and the first treasurer of the city. Like her father and her husband, Mrs. Edwards seems to have been a person of her own ideas. When Thomas Robbins asked to live in her family in Colebrook in order to study with Mr. Edwards, she settled the matter in her husband's absence by saying that she could not take boarders.

Mr. Edwards had four children. One was a son who abandoned the traditional ministerial profession of the family and became a brilliant lawyer in Hartford. Another child, a daughter, kept up the family tradition as well as she could by marrying a minister, the Rev. Calvin Chapin, one of her father's pupils.

³ A picture of it is in S. Baldwin's Life and Letters.

Mr. Edwards is buried in the Scotch Presbyterian Church Yard at Schenectady. His funeral was simple, following his own direction that the money to pay for the usual elaborate ceremonies be given to the poor. A tablet in the United Church was unveiled Sunday evening, February 26, 1911. The address on the occasion was most appropriately given by Gov. Simeon E. Baldwin, a descendant of Roger Sherman, the esteemed friend of Jonathan Edwards.

CHAPTER XVI

MINISTERS OF THE FAIR HAVEN CHURCH

When the founders of the Fair Haven Church started separate worship in September, 1769, they, like the White Haven Church, had no minister, and managed for a while without one, "one of the Brethren carrying on the Worship by Prayer, Singing, & reading a Sermon out of a printed volume." This, wrote a New Haven man, was because "no minister would countenance them so as to preach. Mr. Samuel Horton was Pray-master General & Mr. Enos Tuttle his Lieutenant." Another said they met thus, "Choosing, it seems, to hear Enos Tuttle pray and read rather than attend the Ministrations of Mr. Edwards or Hopkins." One of these unfriendly witnesses reported that at the first meeting the congregation was "mostly Boys & vain curious people," that fewer than one hundred were present in the morning and about sixty at the second meeting in the afternoon.

Though ministers in general were unsympathetic, Mr. Wheelock of Lebanon again came to the rescue of a dissenting group and preached for them, and Mr. Pomeroy of Hebron, who himself had been disciplined for New Light activities. It has been mentioned that some people were afraid that Mr. Bird would become pastor, probably recalling how he built up the White Haven Church. Perhaps Mr. Wheelock suggested the man who did become the first minister, a former pupil of his, the Rev. Allyn Mather. He was a little younger than Mr. Edwards, twenty-four years old, and a graduate of Yale (1771). He began preaching to this church in September, 1772, his "performances" were liked and he was installed in February, 1773.

Born in Windsor, Connecticut (1747-1784) he was prepared for college by Eleazar Wheelock who twice, in 1768, interrupted his college course by employing him in missions to the Indians in central New York. Mr. Mather was an old-fashioned Calvinist and practiced the Half Way Covenant as against the New Divinity of Mr. Edwards. As to the differences in doctrine and practice between the two churches, Mr. Stiles reported that his preaching

was said to be orthodox and evangelical, but that "anything and everything could be adm^d to Bapt & the sacr^t in his ¹ and Mr. W. chhs—whereas M^r Edwards besides being orthodox & more than evangelical discouraged sinners from the Use of Means, made God the Author of Sin (though," said Mr Stiles, "I never heard him assert these things) & by his strictness shut out more true saints from his Chh than he admitted. Many esp^r of the young married People left his & joyn M^r Mather's incresing Society."

Mr. Mather did not have the immediate ministerial background of Mr. Edwards. His grandfather, Dr. Samuel Mather, a graduate of Harvard, was one of the founders of Yale and he had a brother in the class of 1763. He seems to have been an attractive person, much beloved, and built up the church to be the largest in town. He had trouble with his lungs and a cough when he came, and after a few years his health failed. In spite of trips to southern climates he died of consumption at Savannah, Georgia, in his thirty-eighth year. In the course of his journey South in 1780–81 he got into the war zone and crossed a river with General Greene.

President Stiles seems to have liked him, went often to his meetings, and when necessary "preached for good Mr. Mather very sick." Occasionally, besides reporting the text and subject of one of Mr. Mather's sermons he made an approving comment on the discourse. He preached his funeral sermon as he had done for Mr. Bird. The church voted Mrs. Mather his salary for three months, November, 1784 to February, 1785, "as token of our Sincere love and respect for our late Pastor & his Lady." A poetical elegy of seven stanzas, published in the following summer, testified to the affection in which he was held, but added nothing to our knowledge. The following stanza is a sample:

"Alas! that he so soon should cause a tear,
While desolation marks each sacred Fane;
While churches wish . . . but all in vain . . . to hear
His pious lips the sacred word explain."

Like his neighbor, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Mather usually attended the public examination of candidates for degrees at the college, and despite early feelings of unfriendliness to the Fair Haven

¹ Mr. Stiles said elsewhere that he admitted three communicants by only asserting to the Covenant and without the votes of the Brethren.

Church, he associated with the other minister in friendly intercourse and in professional gatherings. A later minister, Mr. Dutton, has told of the affectionate regard in which he was held by his people, who often vainly begged him not to preach because of his feeble health. He excelled as a pastor rather than as a preacher, and his sermons were plain and practical in subjects, though persuasive in the manner of presentation. One sermon was published—a discourse delivered at a Freeman's meeting at New Haven, 1776, and a communication in the *Connecticut Courant* (Hartford, July 28, 1778) that criticized the course of study in college and made a plea for lay members on the Yale Corporation.

Mr. Mather had two sons and two daughters, none of whom married, two dying in childhood. A son, Allyn, became a lawyer and afterwards a shipbuilder. A daughter died in 1862 at the age of eighty. His widow, Sophia Barnard of Hartford, married Ebenezer Townsend, the "Great Merchant" of New Haven, owner of many ships sailing to China and London, including the famous *Neptune*. She died in New Haven in 1828.

After Mr. Mather's death, the pulpit was supplied for a time by pastors of neighboring churches, according to the friendly custom of the time. President Stiles preached many times. Meanwhile candidates were considered. At length, an acceptable pastor was found, Mr. Samuel Austin, and the church held a fast "for seeking the Divine Blessing on their Resettlement in the Ministry." He was installed in November, 1786, two years after the death of Mr. Mather. Jonathan Edwards preached the ordination sermon for both him and Jedediah Morse, minister as well as geographer, to about eight hundred people, who listened to a discourse which lasted an hour and a quarter. Mr. Edwards might well feel happy in the choice of a pupil of his for the pulpit of the church that had been founded in opposition to him fifteen years earlier.

Samuel Austin is the third of six Yale graduates and the only native of New Haven to become pastor of any one of the three churches that make up the present United Church. He was born in 1760 of the prominent Austin family, a nephew of one of the deacons of the White Haven Church. At the age of sixteen he served in the Revolutionary War as a substitute for his father, and afterwards taught school successfully. He began to study

law, but feeling the need of more education entered Yale with advanced standing, contrary to the general rule of admission. He was graduated in 1783 with the highest honors in his class. At his commencement, "Sir" Austin, to give him the title by which as a young graduate he was called, delivered an English oration on "The Mutability of Taste in Dress."

Soon after entering college he made public profession of faith, joined the church and decided to enter the ministry. The year after graduation he studied theology with Mr. Edwards. At the same time he was teaching school, in charge of the Norwich Academy. He was very popular as a teacher, but resigned in the autumn of 1785. In 1784 he was licensed to preach by the Windham County Association of Ministers and preached in Norwich and in several places in Connecticut. He declined invitations to churches in Hampton, Connecticut and in New York City, refusing the latter because the church practiced the Half Way Covenant.

Upon coming to the Fair Haven Church in 1786 Mr. Austin "fairly and honestly" made a statement of his beliefs. In his letter of acceptance he said he would come, "as the difficulties which I apprehended respecting church order and fellowship are removed." He made a strange but not unique compromise on the vexed question of the Half Way Covenant—he would not personally admit members nor perform baptisms on that basis, but would allow another man to come into his pulpit who followed the practice. Like his teacher, Mr. Edwards, he believed in the New Divinity, and also like him was rigid in church discipline. The congregation diminished, partly it seems, because of disappointment in the expectation that he would attract many to the church by his eloquence and make it the biggest in town, but largely because he was strict and rigid in discipline, or as Old Divinity men said, "Very fixt & conscientious in some novel Peculiarities." He was in reality an able and eloquent preacher, a pious and conscientious man, and personally attractive in appearance, manner, and character.

A dismissal was agreed upon and financial matters adjusted. Mr. Austin went first to a church in Worcester, Massachusetts, where his influence extended over a wide region in the state. Later, again like Mr. Edwards, he became president of a college—the University of Vermont. Besides experience in educational

work as a young man, he had also taught several students who were preparing to enter the ministry. Six years later he resigned this position and returned to taking a charge, at Newport, R. I., where he remained four years. In 1825 he left this pastorate because of ill health and went to Worcester to live. His last years were troubled by business cares, melancholia, and religious depression, until he died in 1830 in Glastonbury, Connecticut.

Mr. Austin published a number of sermons, addresses, and articles, only one of them while he was in New Haven, a funeral oration on the death of a student. He also edited the works of Jonathan Edwards. He was given the degree of D.D. by Williams College in 1807.

In 1788, when Mr. Austin brought his bride to New Haven, the daughter of the Rev. Samuel Hopkins of Hadley, Massachusetts, the ministers, following the usual polite custom of the time on such occasions, attended a "parish dinner," probably like one described by President Stiles as "a social catholic benev^o meeting." He had no children. On leaving New Haven he sold his new house on the northeast corner of Temple and Wall Streets to Elizur Goodrich for £450. He preached several times in the White Haven Church after he left.

The Fair Haven pulpit was then supplied by tutors at Yale, always a convenient and useful source of supply, and by a series of candidates, but no minister was settled. The President of the college often administered the sacraments. Finally, as shown elsewhere, the movement to unite the White Haven and Fair Haven Churches was brought to a successful conclusion, and the second period of the history of the United Church and its ministers began.

CHAPTER XVII

MINISTERS OF THE THIRD AND NORTH CHURCHES

As soon as the numerous committees from the White Haven and Fair Haven Churches had at length brought about a "fair prospect" of union, search was begun for a minister. The White Haven people had heard the Rev. John Gemmil, a brilliant young minister from Philadelphia, preach when he was in New Haven as a delegate to an ecclesiastical meeting. Some of the leading men were much attracted to him and made inquiries about him and his willingness to come to New Haven. On his part, since he was preaching to three small congregations eleven miles apart, a single central church appealed to him. He said New Haven and its inhabitants also offered many inducements and he seriously considered accepting a call. He finally declined the offer made in August, 1795, because delay in the union of the churches left the White Haven Church still small and paying a salary that he felt needed "augmentation." He also declined an invitation to become Professor of Divinity at Yale. An indication of his theological views is given by Mr. Stiles with whom he talked in 1790. "He tells me that New Div^y has got into those parts, [Philadelphia] & makes Havock in 2 or 3 Chhs."

After the churches were actually united, Mr. Gemmil, who seems to have been the candidate favored by Deacon Austin, did accept a call to the church in 1798. A letter in answer to his inquiries gives an account of the church and its requirements. The society, he was told, was made up of a hundred eighty families. Perhaps recalling the difficulty with Dr. Edwards in the matter of communion with other churches, it was stated that the minister was expected to have friendly interchange with neighboring ministers, though regular exchange had not been the custom. Mr. Gemmil approved of this, as it would leave him more time for pastoral work, and the "augmentation" of the salary was satisfactorily arranged.

Affairs did not run smoothly with this pastor, long desired by some at least, "the gift of Heaven to the dear people of White Haven." It is probable that his fondness for politics and his political activity, on one occasion at least, brought him into disfavor with some of his parishioners. The occasion was as follows. In September, 1800, on the evening before the Yale Commencement, Abraham Bishop delivered an oration in the White Haven meeting-house before a large assembly. He had been invited to deliver the Phi Beta Kappa oration that was usually given on that occasion in the First Church; when, however, he submitted his proposed speech on "The Extent and Power of Political Delusions," the invitation was rescinded. Other available buildings in town were the meeting-houses of the White Haven and Fair Haven Churches. Several men, all like Bishop, members of the new Republican party, belonged to the church owning these buildings, two of them deacons—Mr. Bishop's father and Dr. Levi Ives. Pierpont Edwards, brother of the former pastor, New Haven's leading lawyer and a Republican, was a member of the society. Mr. Bishop said the house was prepared by the Republicans of New Haven, probably referring particularly to these men. The address was made there and was a bitter attack on the Standing Order and the union of church and state. Mr. Gemmil seems to have been in sympathy with the Republicans. Federalists said that only one clergyman was present on the occasion, though Bishop claimed there were eight. That the one clergyman admitted to have been present was Mr. Gemmil, and that this was not his first trouble over politics is suggested by remarks in the controversy that followed.

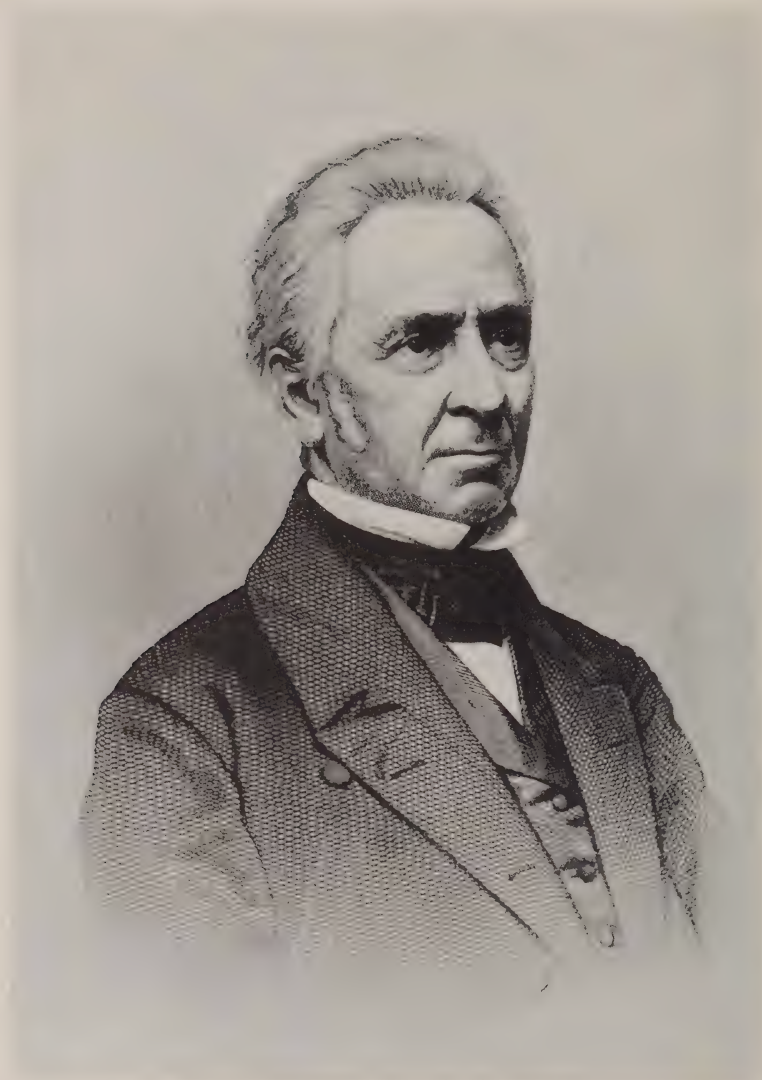
The oration was answered in a series of letters to Bishop, written by David Daggett, another prominent lawyer of New Haven, member of the White Haven Society and a Federalist, using the pseudonym, "Connecticutensis." In the first letter he said, "You have also been uniform in your abuse of all men in power—all merchants, and all the clergy, with the exception of *one*, to whom you have *too often* given the *fraternal embrace* for his own honor, and for the peace and harmony of his society." Mr. Bishop replied, "But he says that parts of that *weak* oration were borrowed from newspapers and part furnished by Mr. Gemmil. Is it not enough that Mr. Gemmil should be stabbed by himself; but must thrusts be aimed at him through me? If false-

hood and calumny would wound him, poisoned shafts are not wanting. Your quiver, Connecticutensis, is full of such arrows!"

Some months later, August, 1801, less than two years after his settlement, Mr. Gemmil was writing letters asking to have difficulties examined and cleared up. He offered to relinquish part of his salary if the irreconcilables wished to leave and form another church. Perhaps he made this suggestion in recollection of the history of the church and its separations, but it was not adopted. Another letter stated that an absence of six months "and a prudent use of the mineral waters" in Virginia had not improved his health, and on this classic ground he asked for and received his discharge. It is said that though Mr. Gemmil was a brilliant man and a popular speaker, his popularity did not last long and the church was glad to have him depart. Politics attracted him more than the ministry, and after returning to Pennsylvania he followed a public career. The pulpit was filled with supplies for the next four years.

On a fine winter morning, February 13, 1805, the next minister, the Rev. Samuel Merwin, was installed pastor of the church, after having preached to it for seven months. He was a young man of twenty-four, tall, dark skinned but with ruddy cheeks, with black eyes and hair, and in qualities and character quite different from his predecessor. Son of Miles Merwin of Milford, descendant of men who had fought in the French and Indian Wars and in the Revolution, he was later appointed chaplain of the revived Order of the Cincinnati. His wife's father, Col. Timothy Taylor of Danbury, was an original member of that organization. He was a graduate of Yale in the class of 1802. In his senior year he united with the College Church, and after graduation studied theology, first with the Rev. Charles Backus of Somers, and later with President Dwight. The latter preached the sermon at his ordination.

Mr. Merwin's pastorate of nearly twenty-six years, one of the three longest in the history of the church, was marked by great changes in its life. This does not seem to have been due to particular ability in the pulpit, for though a gentle, modest, and attractive person, of "fervid piety," he was considered a dull preacher. His efforts on public occasions were described by an unfriendly witness as "very bad" and probably were not very good. His best work seems to have been done by personal visits



THE REV. SAMUEL MERWIN

and contacts. Several years after his death, a minister said in a public address, "Mr. Merwin was the pastor whom I loved, and from whom I received religious instruction in my childhood. The first Sunday School I ever attended was under his pastorate. The affectionate pressure of his hand, one day when I was a child, as he met me at the close of service, in a season of religious interest, I have never lost the feeling of—through forty-five years between—to this day. He had been told that I was desiring to become a follower of Christ, and as he took my hand in his, it seemed to me, that without speaking a word, he condensed into the loving pressure of his hand a soul full of interest in my welfare. I never see his name without feeling a thrill of joy."

The increase in numbers during his pastorate was the result of the revival movement that was sweeping the country, bringing great numbers and new life into the churches. In carrying on revival work Mr. Merwin was most successful. It has already been shown that many movements were started in the church during this pastorate—Sunday School, temperance reform, missionary interests—but they may represent the influence of the times rather than any great leadership in the pulpit, though Mr. Merwin helped and supported them all.

A valuable service performed by him was the establishment of friendly and cordial relations with the First Church, the beginning of a second and lasting Era of Good Feeling. With its minister, Mr. Stuart, he exchanged pulpits for one service every Sabbath for the first two years of his ministry, a fuller fellowship than that under Jonathan Edwards and Chauncey Whittelsey. This arrangement had two advantages, according to Mr. Merwin's statement, for "although made primarily for their reciprocal relief and advantage, in its practical effects, on a large scale [it] redounded to the benefits of all concerned."

Mr. Merwin took his part in the general life of the Congregational church, acting as scribe at meetings of the General Association, as moderator, as preacher, and as a member of various committees. A Fast Day sermon delivered in 1825 on Temperance and repeated by request was immediately followed, he said, by the formation of the first temperance society in New Haven. Perhaps this is claiming too much for his personal influence in the matter.

Dissatisfaction with his preaching was expressed at various times, but no action was taken. There was recurring trouble between the pastor and one of the deacons, apparently a somewhat fiery individual who found it hard sometimes to control his temper. A number of factors at length seemed to make a change desirable. The church had lost most of its funds in the failure of the Eagle Bank in 1825 and its financial situation was unsettled after the disestablishment of 1818. Some members left to form other churches—the Third Church and the ones later known as the Church of the Redeemer and Plymouth. Although these losses were not Mr. Merwin's fault and the church gained many members in the revivals, he was not able to cope with the situation, partly because his health was not good enough for the greater labor demanded. The problem was not peculiarly his. The minister of the Third Church had felt after the revival of 1831 that it was difficult to assimilate such great numbers coming into the church at once. Perhaps, too, Mr. Merwin's gentle, middle-aged dulness was contrasted with the intellectual vigor of the energetic young man in the pulpit of Center Church.

Feeling that there was apprehension on the part of some members as to the future of the church, and embarrassed by his consciousness of this feeling, Mr. Merwin asked for a meeting to consider the situation. "I love the flock," he said, "and am willing to stay, but if best, willing to go." The question was brought before the society which voted against his leaving, but the fact that it had to be voted on meant in his eyes "the actual existence of a difference on the subject." He asked for dismissal. Separation was agreed on at the end of 1831, after some months of negotiation to settle details and make proper financial arrangements.

Mr. Merwin had been well treated by the church. At the time of his installation he received a salary of \$750, the largest but one in the state, and by 1815 it had been increased to \$1000. He had also received both from individuals and by subscription gifts of money for travel, for visits to mineral springs, and donations of clothing and supplies. But as he had a large family, he had not been able to save much, and needed money to carry him along until he found another place. He was given \$2000 as a testimony of affection and esteem, half of the amount donated by the church, and half raised by subscription.

For a time after leaving New Haven he was pastor of a church in Wilton, Connecticut, but even with less cause for anxiety and with less exacting labor his health did not improve, and in 1838 he returned to New Haven. Here he taught young men in his home, did volunteer work among the poor of the city, and conducted Sunday services at the almshouse. He had a part in the services of installation of his successor in the pulpit of the North Church, and seems to have enjoyed most friendly relations with his former flock. When he returned to New Haven, the society voted to provide a seat in church for him and his family. But neither he nor his wife rejoined the church. His successor, Mr. Dutton, who came about the time Mr. Merwin returned to New Haven, said he was "holding pleasant intercourse with and performing many acceptable services for the people, for whom he so long labored and whom he still ardently loves." Mr. Merwin was evidently tactful in his relations with the church, for Mr. Dutton always spoke of him with affection.

There were five daughters in the family, four of whom married ministers and graduates of Yale. The two sons were both graduates of Yale. Mr. Merwin lived on the south side of Broadway,¹ about half way between York and Park Streets in a house he bought, paying for it mostly with money received from an inheritance. Again the muse of poetry turned her eyes to this church, for the celebration of his golden wedding in 1855 produced some verses, "The Golden Bridal," by that indefatigable writer of anniversary poems, Mrs. Sigourney, and a poetic tribute by Professor Fitch of Yale. Mr. Merwin died in 1856 and is buried in Grove Street Cemetery. In 1871 his family was given permission to place a tablet to his memory in the church building, provided it was similar to the one already erected for Mr. Dutton. His portrait was given the church by descendants in 1900; it was painted by Julius Ludovici, a special friend of the family.

Dr. Leonard Bacon paid the following just and pleasant tribute to that "modest and worthy man . . . Samuel Merwin. He never thought himself the peer, either in learning or mental force of the eminent men I have just named [Fitch, Goodrich, Day]. . . . Our friendship was intimate, our intercourse constant, our mutual confidence without reserve. . . . His personal

¹ Dana's map.

acquaintance with the ways of my two surviving predecessors and with their predecessor, and his nineteen years of experience before me in the pastoral office, were an advantage to me; and through him I became acquainted with the place, with traditions and memories then recent, and with ideas and usages that were beginning to be old, and were vanishing away."

Later his family was active in the church for many years. His son, the Rev. Samuel S. J. Merwin, joined the church by certificate from the church in Wilton, July 1, 1884, with his wife and daughter. At the time of the union of the Third and North Churches, he and another minister conducted the prayer meetings until a pastor was secured. He presided at the first annual meeting of the United Church and was active until he died in 1888. His wife was the first president of the Ladies Aid Society after its incorporation, and remained in that office until 1896. The family was represented in the church membership until the death in 1925 of Miss Miranda Merwin, the daughter of the Rev. S. J. M. Merwin. She joined the North Church in 1859 at the age of twelve, later was dismissed, but returned in 1884.

Mr. Merwin published a "Historical Discourse on the completion of Fifty Years Service in the Ministry." This was delivered by request in the North Church, which asked for a copy for publication in the following affectionate words: "with grateful recollections of your pastoral labors among us in former times and with warmest wishes for your continued usefulness and happiness." Other publications were an account, with Professor Taylor, of the revival of 1821, in the *Christian Spectator*, and a sermon preached in Hartford at the request of the Trustees of the Missionary Society of Connecticut.

One can but feel that Dr. Munger's statement is the true judgment: "The ministry of Mr. Merwin is a bright page in the history of the church, characterized on his part by great fidelity and tenderness and discretion, and on the part of the people by love and respect which still linger among us." This may be put with another remark of Dr. Munger's, made after the funeral of one of the deacons of the church, "I wish that could be said of me when I go—a good man! I care nothing about anything else. The other things said of men are nothing by comparison."

Again the North Church was without a minister for four years, and dependent on supplies and the ministrations of

preachers in neighboring churches. Various candidates were approached in vain, for a great wave of ill health seemed to have struck the ministry. Mr. Leverett Griggs, later pastor of the Church of the Redeemer, and Oliver E. Daggett both declined to come on account of youth and ill health. Mr. Thomas Skinner of Andover refused an offer of a salary of \$1200 instead of \$1000, because of bad health, and Mr. John H. Adams of Syracuse also declined to settle here.

At length in June, 1835, Mr. Leicester A. Sawyer was installed pastor, the second incumbent from outside New England. He came from Martinsburg, N. Y., and in a letter written while considering the place, expressed doubts of his qualification for the situation. Since he did not know New England he wondered whether he would fit "in your meridian," and also whether his lungs were strong enough to fill the building. At his installation, the church voted to ask Mr. Merwin, a member of the council, to make the installing prayer. Mr. Cleaveland of the Third Church who acted as scribe to the council gave the right hand of fellowship. A revival added sixty to the church, but Mr. Sawyer remained only a little over two years, leaving in November, 1837, at his own request. He became the first pastor of a new church in New Haven, now Dwight Place Church, "formed partly by peaceable secession from the North Church." The records give no reason for this movement. Perhaps the location of the church, a little distance from the Green, made it more convenient for some people. From that church, Mr. Sawyer went, after two years, to Ohio, where he later became president of Central College. He thus followed the example of two of his predecessors in taking a presidential office.

The next pastorless interval was shorter and was followed by the third and longest pastorate in the history of the church and one of the most satisfactory. The new minister, the Rev. Samuel W. S. Dutton, the third Yale graduate in the ministry of the church, was from Guilford, from a family prominent in the Congregational church. His grandfather and three uncles were deacons, his father and two brothers were ministers, thus making him almost as much of the cloth as his predecessor, Jonathan Edwards, Jr. Mr. Dutton was the second of five sons of the Rev. Aaron Dutton, a member of the Yale Corporation and an Abolitionist. He was born in 1814 in Guilford, where his father was



THE REV. SAMUEL W. S. DUTTON

pastor of the First Church. Prepared for college at home, he entered Yale at the age of fifteen and a half, and was graduated with honors in 1833 on the thirtieth anniversary of his father's graduation. He was converted in college in the revival of 1831 and wished to become a minister. In this he was encouraged by his friends.

To earn money for his training, he taught in Mt. Hope College, Baltimore, was Rector of Hopkins Grammar School in New Haven, and for two years (1836-8) was a tutor at Yale. Like Jonathan Edwards at Princeton, he was invited to become a professor at Yale and also to be president of a college in the northwest, but he declined both in favor of the pastorate of the North Church, the only charge he ever held. When he returned to New Haven as Rector of the Grammar School he was able to take up his studies for the ministry, under his "revered and beloved" Professor Taylor, who had encouraged him to enter the ministry.² Before he finished his studies, though advanced enough to be licensed to preach, he was chosen pastor of the North Church, April 8, 1838, and ordained June 27. His father preached the sermon and Professor Taylor made the prayer. He was the third young man in his early twenties to be so chosen, but he possessed what the others had lacked—a combination of the qualities of both leadership and considerable intellectual ability together with a winning personality.

He had preached to the church only four times, and only three or four times anywhere else, and his barrel contained only two sermons prepared in advance. Temporarily overcome with the situation, he soon had to take a vacation of three months. There were other things to discourage him. The church was again in a low state, in spite of the large numbers added under Mr. Merwin, and there were unsolved financial difficulties. The pastorless intervals, accompanied by withdrawals to form other churches had left it reduced in numbers and somewhat disheartened. Again, a large proportion of the members were elderly men and women, but the young minister had the ability to win and encourage people and two revivals within the next four years added new members.

Mr. Dutton accepted Taylorism and the New Haven system, but he was not interested in merely speculative theology. He

² Prof. Taylor was the subject of one of the numerous memorial sermons published by Mr. Dutton.

said he came more and more to preach the Bible rather than theological systems and his preaching of truths and precepts from the Scriptures, instead of being expressed in technical theological phraseology, was in plain, simple, and direct language. He learned, he said, "to give the first and largest place to the sense of right and duty, rather than to the desire of happiness." He was tolerant, realizing, as he said, "that truth is many sided, and that for the great variety of human wants and tastes and tendencies all its many sides are needful and useful." Dr. Bacon described his theology as "what all theology ought to be, the elucidation of God's government over the world, and the gospel as a revelation of the way in which sinners may be saved."

Besides less emphasis on theology, Mr. Dutton came to rely on the influence of the church and on the Sunday School for growth rather than on revivals, and did not believe that a church which had no revival was "forsaken of God." He was increasingly interested in the Sunday School and visited it often, trying to be present and to share in its services every Sunday. He was also interested in Foreign Missions and was a member of the American Board. In his pastoral work he planned to call on every one at least once a year, besides visiting the sick and afflicted. He also introduced certain businesslike changes in the conduct of church affairs, especially the custom of presenting in the annual meeting reports of the work of the church. Before this time the annual meetings had been largely confined to the election of officers and voting financial arrangements.

When the *New Englander Magazine* was started in 1843, Mr. Dutton became one of the associate editors. He was an accomplished scholar in New England ecclesiastical history, and contributed forty-six articles, more than any one but Leonard Bacon. These articles, said Dr. Bacon, were mostly on current questions of interest to the church, or to the public welfare, rather than on controversial questions of doctrine. Many of his addresses were published and he became known throughout the country. He wrote a history of the church for its one hundredth anniversary; a "Discourse on the Completion of Twenty-Five years in the Ministry"; and many memorial and funeral addresses and sermons for distinguished parishioners, enough, he said, to make a large volume.

Besides his fame as a writer, he was widely known for his charity and for his courageous stand on the slavery question. In 1849 he became a leader of an agitation to transfer insane people from the workhouse to Hartford, and to separate the worthy poor from criminals. Up to this time, petty offenders, insane persons, beggars, and both vicious and innocent paupers were confined in the workhouse indiscriminately. "How many of those radical, uncompromising sermons," wrote a friend, "he has preached here, urging what seemed to many impracticable, because, first, it was just in itself, and secondly, it was just to God's poor." In other ways he interested himself in the care of the poor. At his funeral, said a church report, many poor people were present, who, "though despised by other ministers and church members . . . weep around his lifeless body, giving the highest possible attestation that they have shared his sympathies and benefactions."

Mr. Dutton and his sister, Miss Mary Dutton, head of the famous and prosperous Grove Hall School for Young Ladies, were both imbued with the abolitionist sentiments of their father. Mr. Dutton preached against slavery in spite of black looks and disapproving words from some of his most prominent parishioners. A few left the church, but when a member remonstrated with him, he said, "I thank God that if I cannot preach the truth in the North Church, I can drive a hack." Yet he did not lose their friendship. He was the kind of person who could go his own way and still retain the affection of people. Conservative Old School men like David Daggett and Simeon Baldwin were his fast friends and he was a member of a club in New Haven which contained college professors and Congregational ministers. His cheerful, kindly disposition and genuine friendliness attracted every one. A church report made after his death spoke of "his genial spirit, his affectionate, sympathizing nature."

During his pastorate occurred some of the most dramatic and picturesque episodes in our history. First, in 1839, New Haven was stirred by the plight of the negroes brought here from the slave ship, the *Amistad*. Several of Mr. Dutton's parishioners became involved in the incident. It was surely with his blessing that Roger S. Baldwin went to Washington to argue the case; that Simeon and Nathaniel Jocelyn not only bestirred themselves to secure a trial for the negroes but also secretly placed a ship in the

harbor to make certain that the Africans could escape from the country if the verdict was unfavorable; and that provision was made for their return to Africa and for the founding there of the Mendi Mission.

Still later, in 1856, occurred the Kansas Rifle Meeting held in the church, when Mr. Dutton and his sister promised rifles to the emigrants who were going out to try to save Kansas for freedom. His home on College Street was a station on the Underground Railway. A nephew brought up in the family said he remembered that as a child he was often sent with food to colored men hiding in the attic. Looking back on his labors after twenty-five years in the church, Mr. Dutton said that if he had anything for which to blame himself with in regard to slavery, it "is not for too great, but too little, zeal and boldness and thoroughness respecting it." He was more hostile to slavery than Leonard Bacon. The last meeting he attended was at College Street Church to describe the opening of a field for evangelical effort in the South. He led in prayer.

The second minister to die while in active service, he died suddenly in 1866 at the age of fifty-two, while on a visit to Milbury, Mass. Dr. Cleaveland of the Third Church died the same week. The funeral discourses for both were given by Dr. Bacon, who had also given the right hand of fellowship at their installation. "Dear Brother Dutton," he wrote several years later in his half-century sermon, "it seems lonesome, even now, to be living without him." Over one hundred ministers were at Mr. Dutton's funeral, with many persons unable to get into the black-draped church. Like two of his predecessors, Mr. Bird and Mr. Merwin, he is buried in Grove Street Cemetery. The society voted to spend \$500 for a monument to his memory and a tablet was placed in the church building. A portrait was unveiled in 1885 at a large social gathering to open the new chapel.

Mr. Dutton's wife was dead and he had no children.

The next minister, the Rev. Edward L. Clark, was installed January 3, 1867, one week earlier than the installation of Mr. Gregory at the Third Church. Mr. Clark was here five and a half years. He was especially interested in the Sunday School movement. To have proper facilities to carry on this and other parish activities, he worked to get his people to build a chapel.

In 1870 it was necessary for him to go abroad for his health. He returned in better physical condition, but in June, 1872, he wrote a letter of resignation in the "conviction that I cannot perform the duties required." This was not unexpected, and he was dismissed after "a very acceptable service" as pastor. He refused to entertain any proposition of the church to reconsider his resignation. He had no place in mind. During his pastorate one hundred seventeen had been admitted to the church by profession and one hundred forty-six by certificate. His letter of resignation said he had a strong "conviction that to serve rightly in the pulpit your pastor should serve you in your homes."

He and his family were dismissed to the 130th Street Presbyterian Church in Harlem. Twenty-five years later he recalled, in a letter of thanks for a church catalogue, his coming to New Haven "when I looked with awe and dread upon the solemn elms, and the noble building, which seemed the splendid protest against all change."

Perhaps the work of the church was felt to be too exacting and arduous for in February, 1872, it was voted that if Mr. Henry L. Griffin of the Theological School "accepts our Call, this church will cheerfully concur with the Society, in adopting any suitable measures to lessen the labor of the Pastor such as having but one sermon from him on a Sunday, or otherwise." The salary offered by the Society was \$4000, with the possibility that the arrangement to have only one sermon might be continued for longer than the year, and that if more preaching was wanted the minister's convenience would be consulted, or the society would provide it at its own expense. Mr. Griffin declined to come on the ground that he was too young and inexperienced.

A year and a half later, June, 1873, the society concurred with the church in calling as minister an older man, the Rev. Edward A. Hawes of Philadelphia. The practical arrangements were that he should have a salary of \$5000, two months' vacation in July and August, and the payment by the society of the expenses of moving his family to New Haven. It will be recalled that when the church was in financial difficulties after the hard times of 1877 the salary was reduced to \$4000 at his own suggestion.

Mr. Hawes (1834-1911) was born in Topsham, Maine. His grandfather was a sea captain, his father a Congregational min-



THE REV. EDWARD A. HAWES

ister. He was one of the best trained ministers in the history of the church. From Lewiston Academy he went to Bowdoin College, where he was graduated in the class of 1851. He then attended the Bangor Theological Seminary. He was minister at Waterville, Maine, for thirteen years until 1864. Though physically unfit to be a soldier in the Civil War, he was given leave from his church to serve on the Christian Commission. He was at Chattanooga and at Camp Convalescent near Alexandria, and on his return again had leave from his church for three months to canvass New England for the Commission. It may be said that the Ladies Aid Society of the North Church sent five hundred articles to a similar organization, the Sanitary Commission. The chapel tent at Fort Burnham, called the Hawes Tabernacle, was paid for with \$600 from his church. His work on the Commission brought him a great reputation and he became the first pastor of the first Congregational church at Philadelphia (1864-1873). After this church and its chapel were built and the organization established on a firm basis, he felt that he needed a change and he accepted a call and was installed as pastor of the North Church, September, 1873, a month before his thirty-ninth birthday.

Mr. Hawes believed in a special experience of conversion,³ and he and Mr. Dennen of the Third Church worked together in the Moody and Sankey revivals. When the two churches decided in 1884 to unite, it was necessary for both pastors to resign, hard as such an action was for their devoted congregations. A member of the Third Church wrote that the people of the North Church were distressed to give up Mr. Hawes, but that he had behaved nobly and thereby won their hearts more than ever. Each pastor was given a generous sum from the common fund. Before Mr. Hawes left the people of the church gathered at his house to show their affection, and presented Mr. and Mrs. Hawes with a silver tea service, and gave each of the five children some pieces of table silver.

From New Haven Mr. Hawes went to the First Congregational Church of Burlington, where he stayed fourteen years. This was his last regular pastorate though he had frequent calls to preach. In 1900 he became Field Secretary of the Ministerial

³ During his ministry a young man was refused admission to the church because he could not point to such an experience.

Relief Fund, travelling in its interests through New England for three years. From 1906 he lived in Washington, D. C., still working and preaching until he died in 1911. He is described as a "stalwart son of God," well-born, liberally educated, of "majestic personal presence" and endowed with a powerful voice.

Two sermons preached by him in New Haven were printed—"The Right Use of Memorial Days," delivered on the occasion of the presence in the church of the New Haven Grays, and a "Memorial of Deacon Atwater Treat."

The first preacher of the Third Church was Dr. Nathaniel W. Taylor. In 1830 the church settled its first minister, the Rev. Charles A. Boardman, like Dr. Taylor a native of New Milford. He was a man "of popular talents but without academic training." He had lived in Ohio for a few years as a merchant, and before coming to New Haven had served fourteen years as pastor in New Preston, Connecticut. He was here only a short time, from March, 1830, to September, 1832. From New Haven he went to Westport for two years, and then held the agency for several years of the American Home Missionary Society in the western states. He then served as pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Youngstown, Ohio, for sixteen years, and when he resigned that position he went to Monroe, Wisconsin, to live with a daughter. While he was in Wisconsin he preached occasionally, several months in Youngstown at one time, and gathered and organized a church in Monroe. He died there July, 1860, at the age of seventy.

Among the many coincidences in the history of the United Church is the fact that the next minister of the Third Church, the conservative Dr. Cleaveland, was a descendant in the third generation of the diarist, John Cleaveland, who was expelled from Yale in 1744 for New Light activities. Elisha Lord Cleaveland was born in 1809 at Topsfield, Essex County, Mass., son of Dr. Nehemiah Cleaveland, a physician. After attending Dummer Academy in a nearby town, Newbury, then under the direction of his brother, he went to Bowdoin College, where a relative was a distinguished member of the Faculty. He was graduated in 1829, his decision in his senior year to become a minister resulting in the improvement of his scholarship.

He spent three years at Andover Seminary and then came to New Haven to study with Professor Taylor. With three friends

he took a room at the corner of Chapel and Temple Streets, which came to be known as the "Philosopher's Garret," perhaps because of his great fondness for the works of Coleridge. Unexpectedly, as has been shown, he became pastor of the Third Church. His great work in carrying this church through discouraging days to prosperity and success has already been described.

His installation as the pastor of the Third Church meant the presence in New Haven for several years of three remarkable young ministers—Leonard Bacon, who came to Center Church in 1825, Elisha Lord Cleaveland to the Third Church in 1833, and Samuel W. S. Dutton to the North Church in 1838. None of them ever held any other pastorate and for nearly twenty years the three cooperated in the most friendly manner, in a "half-colleague relation" as Dr. Bacon called it. Mr. Cleaveland's conservatism kept him a little apart from the others. Mr. Cleaveland and Mr. Dutton preached their last sermons on the same day, neither expecting it to be his last, and the circle was broken by their deaths within a few days of each other in 1866.

Mr. Cleaveland not merely disagreed with Taylor's theology, but exerted all his influence against it. He did not care for theological speculation and controversy. In a historical discourse he said, "Amid the shifting scenes of this changeful speculation; amid these dissolving views of theology, which vanish while you gaze upon them I have professed to abide in that well-tried system of doctrine which I have preached to you from the beginning."⁴ He kept the friendship of his theological opponents and he and Professor Taylor cooperated in many ways.

Mr. Cleaveland was well known outside New Haven and held offices in national organizations. He had excellent practical judgment, common sense, and administrative ability. He was a leading member of the Board of Trustees of the Connecticut Theological Institute, and for more than twenty-five years a member of the American Board. In 1864, during a stay of several months abroad, he spoke in meetings in Paris and London explaining the position of the North in the Civil War. Not long after his return he died, February 16, 1866, after a short illness. It was within a few days of thirty-three years from the first time he preached to the Third Church. A long poem printed in a New Haven

⁴ For his theological beliefs see p. 39.



THE REV. ELISHA LORD CLEAVELAND

newspaper at the time of his death gives no information, but testifies to the affection in which he was held.

He was not a great scholar nor a brilliant preacher, and he was prudent, cautious, and conservative. A handsome and eloquent man, he was said to resemble Daniel Webster whom he greatly admired. His sermon on the death of Webster was widely circulated. He was pious and devoted. "I always knew," said Dr. Bacon, "that he loved Christ and loved the truth." Though the day of his funeral was rainy, more than fifty ministers attended and the church was filled to overflowing.

He lived in a large house still standing, on the northeast corner of Orange and Trumbull Streets. He had five children, three sons and two daughters. His widow died in Brooklyn in November, 1880.

Mr. Cleaveland's successor, Mr. Daniel S. Gregory of Troy, was here only a short time, leaving because the climate did not agree with his health. Eighty-four joined the church while he was minister. He and his wife were dismissed to the Presbyterian church in South Salem, N. Y. The next pastorate, that of Mr. David Murdoch, was short also. On resigning in the spring of 1874, he wrote, "It is a source of satisfaction to me in being brought to this sudden and painful step, to have the assurance, that in no degree, is it owing to any alienation of respect and good feeling between pastor and people." The one minister in the history of the churches to have been born abroad, he was a native of Glasgow, the son of a clergyman. His parents came to Canada when he was a child and later moved to Ballston, N. Y. Mr. Murdoch was graduated from Union College and from Union Theological Seminary. He preached in the Congregational church in New Milford for twenty years, and in the Third Church of New Haven for five years. From New Haven he went to Peekskill, N. Y., and later preached in different pulpits in Connecticut until he retired. He was given the degree of D.D. by Yale.

Almost exactly a year from Mr. Murdoch's departure, April 28, 1875, Mr. Stephen R. Dennen was installed, Mr. Hawes of the North Church giving the right hand of fellowship and Dr. Bacon making the installing prayer. Mr. Dennen came from Lynn. A contemporary letter says, "He is a large, heavy man, forty-five years old, and any one seeing him go up the pulpit stairs would not

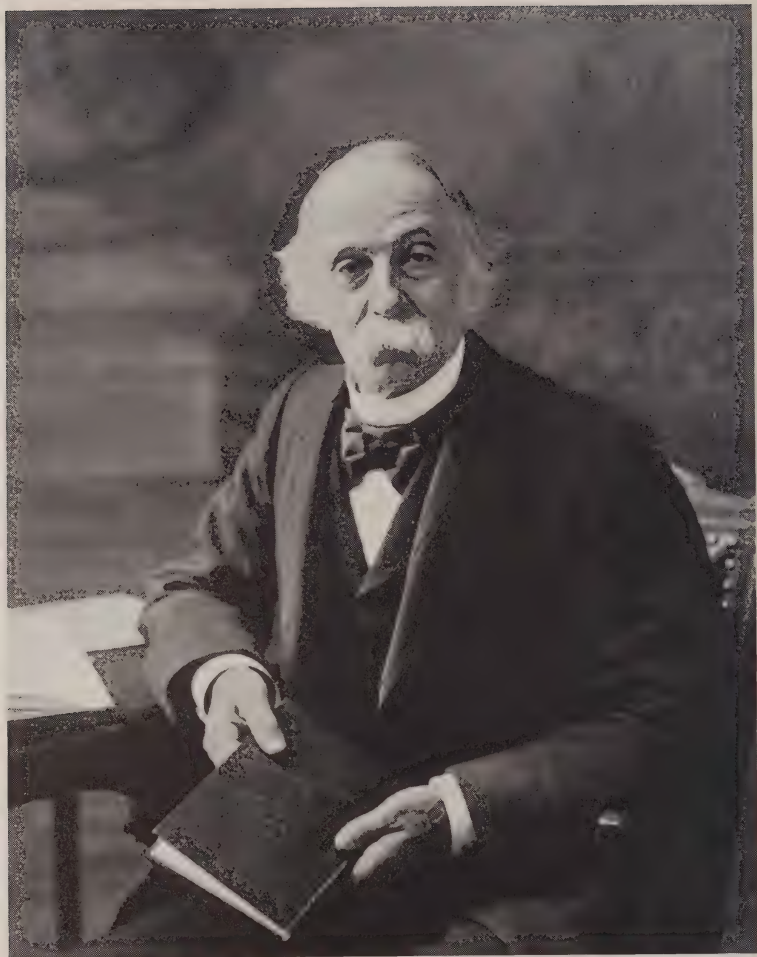
expect much of him, but he makes the services all interesting and calculated to stir the slumbering soul." He was here nearly nine years and after the union of the two churches went to the Trinitarian Congregational Church of Concord, Mass. Later he went to Long Beach, California, where he was pastor of a small Presbyterian church. He declined many calls to larger churches, preferring to build up a weak church. He increased its membership from seventy-five to one hundred fifty, and replaced the small wooden shack in which it worshipped with a building in the mission style of architecture. After four years in California, which ended forty-three years of unbroken service in the ministry, he died January, 1898, at the age of seventy-two. He left a wife and three daughters. He was buried in Los Angeles.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE FIRST MINISTER OF THE UNITED CHURCH—DR. MUNGER

The first minister to fill the pulpit of the United Church, the Rev. Theodore Thornton Munger, was a man of later middle age, fifty-five years old, of ripened powers and rapidly growing reputation. A former member of the Third Church wrote of the call which he received, "I had no idea that they would agree on any man." And indeed the situation before him might easily present difficulties, because of the recent union of two churches with different theological traditions and histories which included two separations. There were personal reasons too. Many opposed the choice of this particular minister, thinking, wrote one member, "we have got a Universalist. . . So there seems to be a good deal of feeling and not a little dissatisfaction." Some members of the installing council likewise objected to the views of the candidate, six of the thirty voting against him, and one even carrying the matter to the denominational paper, the *Congregationalist*. But the installation of a man with liberal views in spite of objections meant, said a paper, that "no further went the tabu of liberal theology in the settlement of Congregational ministers." A leading member of the United Society, Judge Baldwin, in telling Dr. Munger of opposition in the church to his theological views,¹ advised him to disregard it. This advice was acceptable to Dr. Munger's natural tendency to be constructive and peaceable rather than controversial and argumentative. He said later that he had a "resolution—never yet broken, I think—not to utter a word controversially in reply to attacks on my theological opinions." Many in this church declared he had saved their religion for them, endangered as it was by the changes and criticisms of theological thought. Others listened in the way he saw one eighty-year-old member listen 'little imbedded in prejudices or wedded to mere habits and bare traditions, open and receptive to new truths.'

¹ The vote was 41-26.



THE REV. THEODORE T. MUNGER

Dr. Munger was installed on a rainy day in November, 1885, but as the newspaper reported, the church inside was made bright with 'a white floral anchor, a cross of variegated roses and other designs in fragrant flowers.' Dr. Munger was the fifth graduate of Yale to become minister here. Though born in New York state (1830) he was descended on both sides of his family from old Connecticut stock—the Mungers from Guilford and the Seldens from Haddam. His father, a graduate of Yale (1814) was a physician, who as a young man went "West," to Homer, one of the new settlements in central New York, where he combined farming with the practice of his profession. His service to the community was almost a lay ministry. Home conditions were ideal, and at the proper time, after attending district school, his son attended Cortland Academy and later the preparatory department of Western Reserve College. Then, following his father's footsteps, he came to Yale, making the journey by stage coach to Albany and thence by boat to New Haven.

In college he was not especially prominent, and achieved no high scholarship, showing interest in literature and wide reading rather than in the curriculum with its classroom drill emphasizing classics and mathematics. At this time elective courses were few and the range of studies limited, but he was interested in debating and won a literary prize. In New Haven he had the advantage of social training and experience, in the home of an aunt, a wealthy and cultured woman who was temporarily making her home here. After graduation in the class of 1851 he was at home for a year, not because of financial reasons or any cause other than his desire to develop in an atmosphere free from the routine of college life. The time was spent, he said, "doing just as I please, working some, studying some, and reading considerable." Then he entered the Yale Divinity School because he "had never for a moment thought of doing anything else" than becoming a minister. He received the degree of B.D. in due course in 1855.

In reaching the decision as to his profession he was not influenced by any experience such as that of conversion. In fact in college he had taken no active part in religious life. It was rather the natural result of his training and education in a moral and religious home. Though accepting the current revival system, with criticism only for its excesses, he showed a distinct lack of

response to it. In this, as in his respect for science and truth, he was like his father. Ebenezer Munger, when a boy, had been selected by his pastor as a promising candidate for the ministry. He was deeply religious, but could not feel sure of his "election," which at that time meant abandoning the idea of becoming a minister.

While still a student in the Yale Divinity School, young Munger made his first appearance as a preacher, at Mt. Carmel, in 1854, on his twenty-fourth birthday. Other invitations to preach came often, and two years later, 1856, he broke off graduate studies at Andover after three months in order to be ordained and installed in his first parish, in the Village Church, Dorchester Lower Mills, Mass. He remained here four years, leaving in 1860 for study and further consideration of his place in denominational life. Some aspects of the Episcopal Church appealed to him as filling certain lacks and narrowness he felt in his own denomination, and answering certain needs of which he was conscious. During this period of adjustment he had many engagements to preach around Boston, and he found in the end that he was too much of a Puritan, as he said, to change. He accepted a call to the Congregational Church in Haverhill.

Dr. Horace Bushnell, at this time very much in the public eye, roused in him great sympathy and admiration, natural in one with inclinations towards the theories of religious growth from within rather than the violent experience of conversion. It is more than coincidence that in the days when he was a student in the Divinity School he heard Bushnell preach in the North Church his famous sermon on "The Greatness of Man Seen in his Ruin." His open sympathy with Bushnell, and similar views which he was coming to hold, caused some dissatisfaction in the Haverhill church and he resigned the pulpit in 1869.

After a temporary pastorate of fifteen months in Providence, he became pastor of a church in Lawrence, Mass., in April, 1871. About four years later (1875) the ill health of himself and family made it necessary to remove to a different climate. He went to California, and as a home missionary organized a church in San José. But though happy and successful in the work of building a new church, he was homesick for New England, and with the recovery of his health returned a year and a half later.

The opportunity to return was presented in a significant manner. He attracted wide-spread attention by a sermon on Horace Bushnell, preached in San José in May, 1876, soon after the death of that distinguished divine. The sermon, which later became the basis for his biography of Bushnell, was printed and widely read. Soon after came a call to temporary service in a church in East Hartford. His stay here was short, only six months, and in the autumn of 1877 he accepted an invitation to the church in North Adams in which Washington Gladden had previously labored. Connected with it was a sub-parish at Blackinton. Here in the Berkshires, under the shadow of Mt. Greylock, he had "eight great years" as Dr. Gordon called them, and as he himself wrote later, under the conditions "necessary to protect me while I was making my way out into the New Theology." Ten years earlier he had written "I often think we are close to an age of great theology," and he was preparing himself unconsciously to have a share in opening the new era. In fact he might be said to have already begun, for the discussions over his views at the installation at North Adams ended with the victory for freedom and toleration.

Besides preaching and parish work he helped start a library for the town and a public hospital, as he had helped form the Young Men's Christian Association in Haverhill. He was also able to publish his first book, "On the Threshold." This volume, composed of a series of practical addresses to young men, went through many editions, and was followed by a book for younger people, "Lamps and Paths," and a volume of sermons, "The Freedom of Faith." As the two former books were his contribution to the doctrine and practice of Christian Nurture, the latter was his contribution to the New Theology.

Included in the volume "Lamps and Paths" is a pastoral address, "Vows Assumed," made to a large number of young persons who entered the church in North Adams in 1883. In it is given quite simply the theory of Christian Nurture and the relation of young people to the Church. He said to them, "It is the main source of our hope and confidence in you . . . that you have been reared in Christian homes and by Christian teachers, and have come into the Church from these homes and the Sunday-school, already impregnated with its spirit and accustomed to its methods. Still, it is necessary that our general sense of duty

should become a definite and personal sense of it. . . . You, to-day, put the seal of your approval on your Christian education. . . . You draw afresh, to-day, the line between right and wrong,—you draw it for yourselves, no longer taking it from your parents and teachers. . . . You enter the Church, not simply because it is your duty to do so, nor yet merely as a means of doing good, for the Church is something more than a society for doing good, but because the Church is your true and natural place. . . . You will awake to-morrow and see no great change.”

As to the New Theology, he said in “The Freedom of Faith” that it is a “definite movement, that attempts to link the truth of the past with the truth of the present, in the interest of Christian Faith”; it believes that the creed of an age “ought not to antagonize its knowledge.” Of truth he said elsewhere in the same book, “there is such a thing as fresh sight of the truth that now is and always has been and ever will be.” At a time of much heated discussion he showed, as some one said, the “misfit of older theological theories to facts” and the uselessness of trying to ignore new knowledge and its accompanying changes. But he did not over-emphasize the new, and going behind these changes he showed that belief meant, not dogmatism, but an expanding faith, “the new light that is always breaking out of God’s word.” Each generation and each individual, he said, had the right to appeal directly to the sources, that is, to the Scriptures, remembering that although the Bible was inspired, it was “written by living men, whose life entered into their writings,” and that as they were of different ages and different habits of speech, the Bible needs to be interpreted.

Such a study of the Bible, he said, makes it impossible to believe doctrines which were the products of the age in which they were formulated. Thus, though there are isolated texts which could be and were interpreted to mean divine sovereignty, human depravity, legal atonement, and future retribution, the New Theology refuses to accept the identity of the Bible with the theology of New England as it was sixty years ago. It is greater, more universal; there were previous ages of church history, there will be later ones, and the principle of development must be recognized. So too the New Theology recognizes a new relation of religion to natural science, sees the “external world as a revelation of God and values the truth it may reveal,” but “asserts the reality of the

spiritual above the material." So it "accepts the theory of physical evolution as the probable method of physical creation, and as having an analogy in morals; but it accepts it under the fact of a personal God who is revealing himself, and of human freedom,—facts not to be ascertained within the limits of a material philosophy."

Dr. Munger was therefore one of the first to welcome new science and to point out that science and religion were friends, not foes "by showing," as the church resolutions said at the time of his death, "that the spirit of truth and the spirit of intelligence are friends." And as the *Boston Transcript* said at the time Harvard gave him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, he had a high place not only because of his "insight into the implications of the vast body of new knowledge which science has brought to thoughtful men, but also for prompt courage in declaring what the new truth was, and what it meant, and because of his singularly felicitous ways of expressing his thoughts." Or again, as the tablet in the United Church expresses it, his attitude was that of "seeking all truth, hailing all progress, and loving all freedom . . . seeing light he led many into light." And as he himself said of inevitable changes, "We cannot choose which system we will adopt and use; one is past, the other has come." But also he showed what was equally necessary, that every "improvement" in theology is an advance in piety and faith as well as knowledge.

Though in the theological succession from Jonathan Edwards, Jr., through Dwight, Taylor, and Bushnell, he was unlike his predecessor in this church, the younger Edwards. The work of the two, each typical of an age, exemplifies the changes wrought in a century. This is shown in Dr. Munger's words in regard to atonement, a leading doctrine with Edwards. Dr. Munger spoke of the change from a dogmatic conception of Christ's death (atonement) to a natural conception in his life (incarnation). Munger's work was not, like Edwards', the speculative and controversial presentation of dogma and a system of theology, but "a creative force in the construction of a better philosophy of religion," the constructive statement of truths which were the result of experience. His conclusions were drawn from a study of life rather than from the logic of schoolmen, and he felt that Christian doctrine was formulated Christian experience, "truth set in the light of daily life and the real processes of human society."

In this connection should be noticed his recognition of the place and importance of literature as expressing life and "human depths of feeling and duty." This is set forth in his essay on "Christianity and Literature." Of his own work it was said that it belonged more to literature than to dogma, or what he called the "abysmal depths of theology."

Consequently, though identified with the New Theology, he made no contribution to it as such and was opposed to narrow denominationalism. In any case such an attitude would not have appealed to his generation and age even if he had cared to adopt it. It was already passing, as has been suggested, in the day of the younger Edwards. He was a "messenger of the spirit," and his method was different. "I did not," he said, "enter upon a series of *denials* and sharp distinctions between old and new, but preached . . . by suggestion and never dogmatically. As a result, after the years were over, I came in each church to find a solid following of people thinking as I thought—not exactly, but near enough—by slow and natural process, retaining a great deal that was both old and good and true." He was reluctant to unsettle another's faith.

The books and articles published by him from time to time and the stand taken in controversies led to recognition of him as a leader in the religious world. It was just at this time that the newly formed United Church was looking for a minister and called him to its pulpit. In New Haven he continued writing, besides doing faithful work as pastor of a large and scattered parish and preaching distinguished sermons in the pulpit.

Again as in the days of Merwin and Dutton there were cordial relations with the minister of the Center Church. Dr. Smythe and Dr. Munger worked together, especially in the theological controversies of the day which involved freedom of thought. Two questions at issue were the right of candidates for missionary service to hold their own beliefs, and growing out of this, the question of the respective authority of Congregational Missionary Societies on the one side and churches and councils on the other. Dr. Munger and the United Church were directly involved because of one of its members, the Rev. Robert A. Hume. As has been described elsewhere,² the Prudential Committee of

² See p. 89.

the American Board refused to permit him to return to India after a furlough, on the ground that he was not orthodox in his beliefs. This decision of the Board precipitated a contest, in which the United Church and its pastor took a decided stand and had a large part in bringing about its settlement on liberal grounds. After two years the case was settled on the basis that the individual churches and councils, not the Prudential Committee of the Board, had the right to pass on the theological fitness of their members to be missionaries. The Hume case, said a later minister of the church, "lifted foreign missions above the propaganda of a narrow theology."

Aside from this particular case, with the important issues depending on it, Dr. Munger was deeply interested in missionary work in general, feeling that only as a church reached out from itself to all the world was it truly alive and Christian. "I pray God," he said, "that the vision of this church may never fail to reach the ends of the earth." He made his belief real and practical, by raising through personal effort a fund of \$2000 for the work of Dr. Hume and one of \$500 for a library in Doshisha College.

From the beginning of his ministry Dr. Munger recognized the importance of parish work, and he was as intolerant of neglect and carelessness in this as in work in the pulpit and press. In his first parish, Dorchester, he kept a visitor's book, describing each family, with a record of his visits and services to it. His first act in Haverhill was the systematic visitation of the one hundred sixty families connected with the church. In North Adams he kept and used Dr. Gladden's system of organizing the parish into districts. All this was good preparation for the United Church, where especially careful work was needed, in an organization formed from separate churches recently united. To this, his daughter wrote, "he gave the main part of his strength and the task of making it a really United one was one which called for tact and patience. There was a union of somewhat divergent social elements to be accomplished as well as theological distrust to be overcome." Four or five afternoons a week were given to making parish calls, in one year three hundred were reported. Of the importance of this part of the work of a minister he wrote a friend, "here is one of the strong arguments for the ministry, and one of the best justifications for it—the quiet, steady influence

of a faithful parish priest." Within a few years he succeeded in making the church a unity.

Dr. Munger did not owe his great influence to powers as an orator or as a popular preacher, for these he was not. He was a master of thought, expressed with simplicity and beauty of style. His qualities as a person are well given in a tribute by one who worked with him as assistant pastor of the United Church. "He came as near to being a gentleman, in the time-honored sense of that word, as any one The Optimist ever knew. A gentleman is one who keeps himself pure, has a high sense of honor, and shows in all his relationships a feeling for the comfort and well-being of others. He was continually preaching to young men on this point. He used to read Cardinal Newman's classic measure of a gentleman in 'The Idea of a University,' but no one ever better fulfilled those remarkable lines. To those who knew him his life was the commentary of his Gospel. To a large degree it was also its source."

As a member of the Yale Corporation Dr. Munger devoted much time to the problems of the University, with of course special interest in the students of the Divinity School. Time and attention were also given to civic affairs, Dr. Munger feeling a particular duty and obligation in these matters because of the position of the church building on the Green. Indeed, this duty was the one stressed in his farewell sermon to the church.

In church activities, the conduct of the mid-week prayer meeting seemed to him of great importance, and careful preparation was made for these meetings, as careful in its way as for the Sunday morning service. He started the custom of the New Year's morning prayer meeting, which immediately was largely attended. Other church activities already mentioned in another connection were begun in his pastorate—the systematic effort to acquire an Endowment Fund, the Boy's Brigade, the Men's Sunday Evening Club, and the Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Class. The latter especially seemed to him so important and valuable that he said it was the work of the church that came nearest to the Christian ideal. The work of the Men's Club was greatly helped by his wide acquaintance with leading men and women in all walks of life, whom he was able to secure as speakers.

On Sunday morning, October 7, 1900, to the surprise of the congregation, Dr. Munger read his letter of resignation, feeling

that having reached the age of seventy it was wise to lay down responsibilities, though he felt as vigorous as ever. He was made Pastor Emeritus, with a salary of \$1000, the first in the history of the church. This position left him free for many outside activities, in the way of preparing addresses, articles for magazines and a final book—"Essays for the Day," published in 1904. He resigned from the Yale Corporation in 1905, of which he had been a member since 1887, and in the same year was elected to the American Institute of Arts and Letters. In the course of his life he received many degrees—D.D. from Illinois College in 1883, D.S.T. from Harvard in 1904, and D.D. from Yale in 1908. He died in 1910. Tablets to his memory have been placed in the United Church and in Memorial Hall, Yale University.

Besides his work as a preacher and essayist, he did distinguished work in the difficult field of biography. His life of Horace Bushnell is a classic by the one best fitted in every way to write it.

In all his life Dr. Munger was happy in his relationships, and his father's home, the other homes in which he lived, and his own, exemplified the best characteristics of family life. He had three daughters and one son. Of Mrs. Munger, his second wife, Dr. Bacon said, "Rarely is it possible for a pastor's wife to enter into his work with such helpful efficiency as did Mrs. Munger. She helped her husband in his literary work, particularly in his 'Life of Horace Bushnell.' But it was in the parish that her great gifts of organization and guidance found full scope. There she was invariably at his side and some of the most effective agencies in the church were developed under her guidance." The Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Class was her special undertaking and charge.

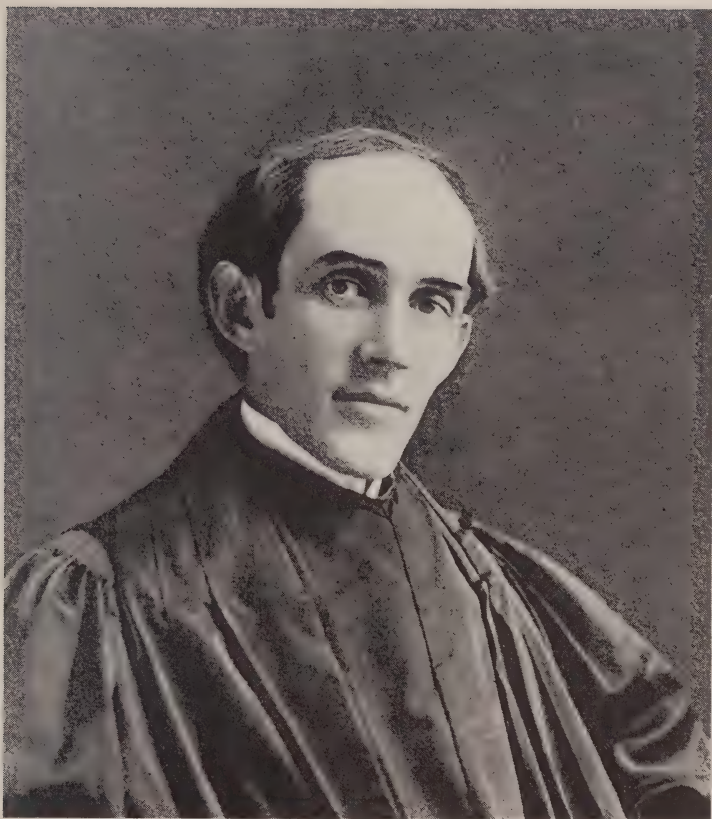
CHAPTER XIX

MR. HAYNES AND MR. DENISON

If Dr. Munger's life was one of fulfilment, that of his successor was one of promise. The minister chosen to follow him was a young man, thirty-two years old, Artemas Jean Haynes, born April 6, 1869. His training and course of life before coming to this church are unique in the history of its ministers. He was born in Trenton, Hancock County, Maine, an isolated farming community. It was a region described by his biographer, a fellow-countryman, as a "belated frontier . . . [having] the ruder, more primitive, more open-hearted life of a simpler society." Its farming and seafaring people were strongly individual, democratic because they had "no opposing conception with which to contrast it." Adventure was in his blood. His father ran away to sea, left his ship in Calcutta harbor, enlisted in the British navy, served through the Sepoy mutiny, and after other experiences returned to spend the rest of his life on a lonely little Maine seacoast farm, living a quiet life as a sturdy supporter of righteousness.

The boy, Artemas, did not have the gracious surroundings of some of his predecessors. He had to struggle to get an education. From district school he went to the Academy at Bucksport, where he proved to be a bright and promising student. Schooling was interrupted by the necessity of earning money. In spite of extreme physical frailty this was done by various kinds of the hardest manual labor, such as cutting ice and felling logs. He made two voyages to the Grand Banks of Newfoundland. As early as this his career was begun, for he went out as a lay preacher, often sailing a stormy sea in an open boat to meet engagements it was not thought he could keep. On the voyages to the Banks he was able to win the affection and respect of the rough fisherman.

From the Academy he went to Boston University, and added to his varied experiences by earning money for his expenses in the accounting department of the firm of Jordan and Marsh, where



THE REV. ARTEMAS J. HAYNES

he was rapidly promoted for efficiency. The course at Boston University was broken by two years at the University of Denver, where he went to accompany a friend whose health made a sojourn in that climate imperative. Later (1895) he returned to Boston University, where he received a degree and a license to preach.¹ While still studying he became pastor at Harwich on Cape Cod, a place which he came to love as a second home. Here too he found a wife. The next year he began to live in Cambridge, studying at Harvard and continuing to preach at Harwich, but he left to accept a call to act as a substitute for Dr. Gunsaulus in the Plymouth Church, Chicago. The Chicago church, he said, did not object to his advanced social views, as might have been expected, but did question his theology, a reverse of the situation in New Haven. The promise of a brilliant career here was closed by his suffering a nervous collapse and facing the necessity of giving up all work. He returned to Cape Cod, where he was always able to find refreshing of spirit.

At this time, learning that the United Church was searching carefully and systematically for a pastor, he wrote the committee a letter recommending another man. The committee was so impressed with the letter that he was invited to supply the pulpit for a Sunday or two, while the investigation went on. The sermon he preached, June 16, 1901, so moved the congregation that there was really no further thought of search. July 30 he was invited to become pastor of the church and he began his duties September 15. Because of the state of his health a temporary arrangement was made for one year, with his only obligation to preach on Sundays. His salary of \$2500 was increased first to \$3500, then to \$4500 as his health permitted him to live in New Haven and undertake more pastoral work. He joined the church December 30, 1902 by letter from the Old South Church, Boston, but he was never installed. The pastorate which began so happily September, 1901, lasted only seven years, ending by his accidental drowning at his summer home in August, 1908, the "greatest tragedy in the history of the church," declared the Board of Deacons. He was the fourth minister to die while in active service.

The teaching in his printed sermons shows how logically he came in the ministerial succession in the United Church. In

¹ He was given the degree of M.A. by Yale in 1904, his only other degree.

method it was constructive, not destructive; in belief, the new growing out of the old, the faith built up by experience as well as by intellectual conviction. Technical theological discussions had no appeal for him. In a sermon on "The Gift of the Morning Star" he warned the congregation, "If you wish all the secrets of this world and the next drawn out in theological definitions, I pray you do not form the habit of attending our worship at this church."

This did not mean that he had not thought about these things and had no theological beliefs. It meant rather that he was one of those who had dreams, or as he described the early disciples, who were spiritual adventurers, seeking to find the unknown spiritual reality just as men searched for the North Pole. Truth he felt could not be paraded "in the garb of a syllogism" or "compassed by speech." This difficulty, he declared, is at the bottom of the failure of every creed. Like Dr. Munger he said, "Christianity is not a philosophy or a system of doctrine, but a fulness of life." More specifically the change in theological thought by him and his earlier predecessors is shown by the different interpretation of the doctrine of atonement. Mr. Haynes did not believe it was necessary to appease a wrathful God. The mission of the "mediator is to persuade and turn the heart of man and not the heart of God."

As to creeds, there can be no progress in theology, he said, when men "speak of the Christian faith as a 'sacred deposit'; where Jesus taught that it was a seed," a growing and broadening belief. The sermon on "The Ideal Church," therefore, defined it as having no creed, each person making his own as in the early days, but it must express a religion "of the hand as well as the head and the heart—the mind that thinks, the heart that loves, and the hand that turns thoughts and emotions into beautiful deeds."

Mr. Haynes did not believe in the old-fashioned revival. He held pronounced views on public questions with which many were not ready to agree, but like Mr. Dutton and his views on slavery he made few enemies. He had deep sympathy with working men, for he had been one. He was ready to make this sympathy active, addressing union workmen, and once, at least, openly taking the side of the strikers, helping settle a strike of freight handlers, whose grievances he thought were just. In a

sermon listened to by several of them in the gallery of the church he advocated the right of workers to have one day in seven free. This stirred up antagonism among some in the city, but the church backed him up as it had Dr. Munger in the Hume case.

Of socialism as a specific economic scheme he said he was perplexed and uncertain, but in any case the place for its discussion was the classroom. The socialism he welcomed and that belonged in the pulpit was "a passion for humanity" and service for it. It was the spirit, not the form of socialism that concerned him. He had scorn for "the men who talk of the rights of property and the sacredness of invested interests; but you never hear them indulge in oratorical flights about the rights of man and the sacredness of the human soul."

An unforgettable sermon, one of three famous sermons preached in this church, was delivered April, 1905, entitled "The Spirit of Protest," dealing with the gift of John D. Rockefeller to the American Board. In accepting this gift, he said, the church would be in danger of missing a great opportunity "through shameful alliance with methods and men it ought to denounce." Some Congregational ministers of New Haven thereupon sent a letter to Boston reflecting on Mr. Haynes and the United Church. In reply the church said that though Mr. Haynes was speaking for himself alone, and the church was not committed to any position and did not necessarily agree with everything that might be said, nevertheless it would have no restrictions as to what the minister should say in its pulpit. The resolutions passed by the Board of Deacons in a letter to Mr. Haynes, May 20, are worth quoting. "Resolved—That with special reference to the pastor's recent sermon on The Spirit of Protest, we hereby record our admiration and approval of his courageous and forcible address on a great moral question, and be it further resolved that it is the sentiment of this board that the pastor be unrestricted and untrammelled in the free expression and condemnation of evil as he sees it, be it in high places or low, and in all earnest and sincere efforts made by him, either in or out of the pulpit to advance truth, patriotism, purity, and righteousness, he will have our hearty support and endorsement as the annals of this church show his predecessor to have had, and we believe these resolutions express the sentiment of this church at large and would be approved by them."

The quality and scope of Mr. Haynes' sermons have been sufficiently indicated in the quotations given. As to their effect, it was that of an orator ardent and eloquent and he filled the church. At one time it was difficult to rent a seat, and if two persons wished to sit together it was necessary to be early at church.

With his predecessor there was the closest friendship, sympathy, and admiration on both sides. Dr. Munger said, "I was educated a preacher, Mr. Haynes was born a preacher," and his untimely death was a great grief. Mr. Haynes dedicated his book on "Social and Religious Ideals" to Dr. Munger "of whose loyal friendship I cannot speak too gratefully." In his first annual sermon he said: "From the first there has been no slightest misunderstanding between your pastors. The one has believed that it was his place to impart such information and give such advice as would naturally spring out of a long and peculiarly successful pastorate: the other has been eager to listen and to ask questions." And further on he said of his predecessor, "his presence is a source of joy and inspiration to all who have sailed under him these many years." Such an attitude of freedom from jealousy and generous admiration illuminates the characters of both men.

Like Dr. Munger, whose biography was written by Dr. Benjamin Bacon, Mr. Haynes was the subject of an admirable work written by a friend, Prof. Henry C. Emery of Yale College. As the church made Dr. Munger Pastor Emeritus, it did what it could for Mr. Haynes by establishing a Memorial Fund of \$5000 for the education of his two sons. It was managed by the church for several years.

Many of the sermons preached by Mr. Haynes were printed in the New Haven newspapers at the time of delivery. Several appeared in pamphlets, and extracts from them were made into the book already mentioned, published in 1907 by Scribners.

Ministers who were essayists and orators as well as preachers were followed by one who was poet and preacher, though the output was slight. One of the beautiful tributes to Dr. Munger after his death was a sonnet written by his successor Mr. Denison and sent to Mrs. Munger.

The church had been without a pastor for a year when it welcomed Mr. Denison on the first Sunday in September, 1909.



THE REV. ROBERT C. DENISON

During the interval Mr. Herbert Wyckoff as Acting Minister "met a heavy responsibility with unusual zeal and efficiency."

Once more the church went outside New England for its minister. Robert Charles Denison was born July 22, 1868, in Godfrey, Illinois. He spent most of his boyhood in St. Louis and was graduated from Shurtleff College at Alton, Illinois. From there he went to Amherst College and received the degree of M.A. in 1889. Amherst gave him the degree of D.D. thirty years later. In 1892 he was graduated from Andover Theological Seminary, and for a short time did social service work in Boston. His first pastorate was a small Home Missionary church at Little Rock, Arkansas, which he served from 1893 to 1897. He then went to the First Congregational Church in Janesville, Wisconsin. During the twelve years he was there the church tripled in membership. He came to New Haven September 1, 1909, and was installed November 30, 1910.

The decided stand he took that our country should enter the World War was not approved by every one in the church, but after we had entered he offered his services. The church gave him six month's leave of absence, from September, 1918, to February, 1919, and he became Deputy Commissioner with the rank of major in the American Red Cross. He served first in Serbia and then in Albania, sending back vivid descriptions of the needs of the refugees and the civilian population, the way they were met and the gratitude of the people for American help.

Mr. Denison resigned as pastor June, 1920, and left New Haven in September, ending an eleven-year pastorate here and twenty-seven years of ministerial work in three churches. He became head of the Department of Philosophy at Pomona College, Claremont, California, where he remained until his death in January, 1936. His reasons for leaving the United Church at a comparatively early age were two-fold. In the first place he felt as he grew older that he was not strong enough for the work of this church, and in the second place, as he said quite frankly, he was offered a position in the educational world which attracted him. The work of teaching had always appealed to him, and in it he was eminently successful.

Besides various printed sermons the war produced a small book of poems written at the time of his son's departure for service in France. Other occasional verses were printed in church publications.

Mr. Denison, a sensitive and extremely conscientious man, is described as "a man of fine sympathies, of clear vision, of devoted purpose." He was more conventional than his predecessor, and the years of his pastorate were marked by no striking event in the church. The stand he took on the war was decided, but the work he did in it was in distant lands. A sermon delivered February 12, 1911, gives his ideals of the Christian ministry. It shows the change from the way in which a minister was regarded in early days and perhaps from the way in which that minister wished to be regarded. No longer considered the only learned man in the community, or even the most learned, his authority now, Mr. Denison said, is solely "the authority of the truth. . . . His dedication is by the spirit within and by the choice of the democracy without. He is representative of the church." He added in the spirit of his predecessors, the truth is living and growing, that of yesterday will not do. "The truth seeker must be ever watching along the horizon for new light" and "religious truth must be reborn in every soul."

In his Farewell Sermon Mr. Denison referred to another change, the one that has come over the life of the church, not only of this particular church, but of all churches. Many of the activities started and developed by it were falling away from it, to be carried on by special organizations—schools, hospitals, agencies for community service. But this, he said, left the church its exclusive, real, and greatest work, maintaining and advancing the religious life. One of its greatest problems is unity in working for this great end, but not unity at the expense of freedom of opinion. He expressed the ideal for which the church should stand, one not resting on tradition, authority, dogma, or even genius and eloquence in the pulpit, but upon the freedom and co-operation of men and women in the pews. These, he might have said, are the things men worked for unconsciously and in the face of difficulties in 1742.

For two and a half years the church was under the care of temporary ministers, the first, Mr. George, called at his own request, Minister in Charge, and the second, Mr. Bushnell, called Acting Minister. Neither was a candidate for permanent service and both did excellent work.

Edward Augustus George was born in Providence, R. I., February 4, 1865, was graduated from Yale in 1885 and from the Divinity School in 1889. He was a member of Phi Beta Kappa,



THE REV. RICHARD H. CLAPP

and received the degree of M.A. from Yale in 1888. He taught school for three years, and held several pastorates. His connection with this church began September 20, 1920, and was ended December 22, 1921, by his sudden death from heart disease. Even in this short time he left his mark upon the church, and among other things a suggestion of his for organized effort to increase membership was followed with good results. He wrote articles for the denominational papers, and was the author of two books.

Samuel Clarke Bushnell was available in the emergency caused by Mr. George's sudden death only because on his retirement from active ministry he had come to New Haven to pass his later years. He was born in New Haven, March 8, 1852, a member of the famous Bushnell family, and is the second minister from the city. His father was C. S. Bushnell of Monitor fame. Mr. Bushnell was graduated from Yale in 1874, from the Divinity School three years later, and was prominent in both undergraduate and alumni organizations. He held pastorates in New Bedford for eleven years and in Arlington for thirty years. He was chosen to many offices in church and educational societies, and published sermons and pamphlets and made historical addresses. He died in New Haven April 27, 1930. The Board of Deacons in the appreciative resolutions passed after his death spoke, among other tributes, of the qualities that impressed every one—"abounding vitality, wide interests, contagious enthusiasm and native kindliness . . . directed and enriched by a vigorous and assured Christian faith. . . . The United Church, lamenting his death, gratefully records the inspiration of his noble life among its choicest memories." These were qualities especially needed in this church at that time.

Before the death of Mr. Bushnell the church had found its present pastor, the Rev. Richard Harold Clapp, D.D. By a curious and happy chance he came from the church in Northampton in which the Great Awakening started. His work is still being done and begins the next period of the church history. That he carries on the tradition of the preaching in this pulpit is shown by sentences in a recent sermon: "There was always for him [Paul] that exciting, thrilling prospect of something in his faith, in the person and word of Christ, which he had only begun to grasp and which he looked forward to discovering with a joy and expectation like that of a child. . . . That is life at its best."

CHAPTER XX

THE FOUNDING FATHERS

In earliest days both the White Haven and Fair Haven Churches consisted only of the people in the pews. As has been shown both churches were founded without clerical leadership, though with clerical assistance and advice, that is, neither followed a particular minister, as people followed Hooker and Davenport, nor did they have any one in mind as pastor. Not only were both organized by laymen in revolt from ministers, but the White Haven Church was carried on by them for seven years without one, and the Fair Haven Church for two and a half years. This independence was through no wish of their own or lack of an effort to secure a minister. In the Third Church, the situation was different. Professor Taylor, the only one living in New Haven of the men whose preaching led to its formation, served them for three years, though he never became their settled pastor.

Perhaps because of intensive training through attention to sermons twice every Sunday, the main intellectual and literary exercise of the time, these laymen felt themselves capable of judging, even in matters of doctrine, what they wanted and should have. To a clergyman of the Church of England, Samuel Johnson, this represented an unfortunate characteristic of a colony that "for its bigness is the best of all his Majesty's Colonies in America." He wrote the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1760, "All the disadvantages it [Connecticut] labors under are owing to its wretched constitution, being little more than a mere democracy, and most of them upon a level, and each man thinking himself an able divine and politician; hence the prevalence of rigid enthusiasm and conceited notions and practices in religion . . . and hence her frequent factions."¹

As if in illustration of such criticism, the people who started the White Haven Church stated in the memorial of 1741 that they desired to separate from Mr. Noyes because they "had reason to think he differed from them on some points of faith," and that

¹ Church Documents in Conn. State Library, I, 312.

he neglected "to open explain and inculcate some of the great and important doctrines of Christianity in his public performances." It was his doctrine, not theirs, that was called in question, and it was their doctrine, not his, that they proposed to follow. The Rev. John Curtiss, the first resident minister, was invited "to preach to us Calvinistical Doctrines during life, ordained or unordained," and the house and lot given him as settlement by the Society was to be returned if he should leave the Society, or "should alter his Religious Principles, and not preach Calvinistical Doctrines."

In calling their first settled minister, the Rev. Allyn Mather, members of the Fair Haven Church voted that there should be "no alteration in s^d church from what White Haven Church was when M^r Bird was minister there upon which this meeting was well suited." And later in 1786, when they were considering another minister, the committee was to confer with him "respecting his religious sentiments." Still later, the parishioners of Dr. Edwards at one time had the idea of laboring with him concerning doctrine.

The White Haven Church was organized at the house of Samuel Cooke, Jr., a layman, and it was there and in the houses of Lieutenant Mix and Mr. Timothy Jones that services were held for a time. The house of James Pierpont, another layman, was designated by the County Court as the place of worship when the dissenters were recognized by that body; it was to the church described as the Separate Society "of which Mr. James Pierpont and Capt. James Talmadge are a part" that a two-hundred-acre farm was willed in 1744.

What sort of people were these who carried through the long process of separation? Persistent and deeply moved as they must have been, were they fanatical, intemperate in their zeal and disorderly in their actions, as New Lights were in many cases? Did divisions of families add bitterness and unhappiness to that caused by breaking old and dear ties of church associations and fellowship, a relationship in many ways more important then than now? Was this a movement of young hot-heads, recently and perhaps only temporarily stirred by emotional, dramatic and eloquent preaching, or of responsible and mature men? Were they representative of the people of New Haven, high and low?

To suggest answers to these questions involves consideration of individual founders and leaders of the church, a difficult matter in an organization started in 1742. On the personal side, church records and histories naturally tell more about the ministers, and their qualifications, achievements and characteristics as preachers, pastors, and leaders. Less is recorded about the members, the body of the church, though deacons, church officials, and members of committees often appear in the narratives, chiefly only by name. It is obviously more difficult to discover much about the "silent democracy" of the individual church goers than of the "speaking aristocracy" of the ministers.

In the case of this church, however, the multiplicity of documents brought forth by the long contest of the White Haven Church for separation, and by the later separations of the Fair Haven and Third Churches, shows that these particular democracies were articulate with the pen at least. The appearance of the signatures with their varying characteristics makes the documents human records instead of mere paper. As a later minister said of the church catalogue, "Names shine through the lines and become history."

A few made their marks, a few names are illegible, many are written in cramped and painful letters, some are blotted, some are the signatures of men accustomed to the use of pen and ink. Many of the signers of these papers were "town-born" in the fullest sense. Theirs were names that had appeared in early records of New Haven—Alling, Gilbert, Johnson, Mix,² Punder-son—to mention some that recall the passenger list of the ship *Hector* and the first days of Quinnipiac. The name of Abigail, daughter of James, an Indian, who joined the White Haven Church in July, 1742, points to days even earlier and to a people even more indigenous than the town-born. Phillis and Cuff represent the slaves who came a little later and unwillingly.

On the other hand the signatures show that New Haven was growing and attracting people from other places. Abraham Dickerman, ancestor of Isaac Dickerman, the first deacon of our church, came to New Haven from Massachusetts twenty years after the settlement of the town. Early in the 18th century had

² This family is still represented in the church membership by Miss Jessie A. Mix, who had other ancestors in the church than those of this name.

come the fathers of John Prout from England, and of Samuel Cooke from Guilford. William Greenough came from Boston about 1730; Daniel and Medad Lyman in 1745 from Northampton as students, remaining after graduation; Hezekiah Sabin from Killingly about 1743. James Talmadge came from Branford, Phineas Bradley from Litchfield, Yale Bishop from Lebanon, David Wooster and Nathan Beers from Stratford and Roger Sherman from New Milford. These and others took equal part with representatives of the older families in forming and maintaining the White Haven and Fair Haven Churches. The first members were connected by complicated family ties, for not only were the newcomers taking their places side by side with those from older families, but they were becoming members of those families. Joseph Burroughs, Philip Rexford and James Talmadge, for example, were all connected with the Munsons; Samuel Cooke and John Prout were related by marriage with each other and the latter with the older Mansfield family.

Many went to the new church in family groups. There was the Mix family—Joseph with his wife, two sons and one daughter-in-law; Caleb Tuttle with his wife and son, his nephew Moses and the latter's two sisters; Samuel Gilbert with his sister Sibyl and a little later some cousins; and Stephen Austin with his wife, brother and nephew, both called David, a name occurring in the family with confusing frequency. One family seems to have been divided with bitterness, a man refusing to go to the funeral of a grandson because the child's father went to the White Haven Church. Three men came alone, leaving their families in the First Church—Zuriel Kimberley, Timothy Gorham, and Stephen Johnson.

Since the White Haven Church was formed by dissenters from the preaching of Mr. Noyes, it is to be expected that most of its first members (54 out of 61) had previously belonged to the First Church. One man belonged to the First Society, but not to the church, for he was a member of his father's church in Stratfield. Two men and two women joining by certificate from churches in other towns, had "enjoyed occasional communion" with the First Church and were received in this membership being "well certified" and in good standing in the towns from which they came. Others who were members of no particular church, were received on owning the covenant. Of the fifty-four

from the First Church a few did not stay long, one man becoming an Episcopalian, and four men and one woman returning to the First Church within a few years. Two of these came back, making fifty the final number from the First Church.

It would be interesting, if it were possible, to determine how many of these first members had been converted during the recent revival movement. All that can be done on this point, in the absence of biographical material, is to consider the dates when they united with the First Church. The revival years did see greater increase in numbers than preceding years. Of those joining in the years 1735-1741 (172 in all) forty-one were among the organizers of the White Haven Church, that is, two-thirds (41 out of 61) of its first members had joined the First Church within about six years, fifteen of them in 1741. It cannot be asserted from these figures alone that they had been converted by the revival, and had not come into the church by the regular means of growth. Whatever may be the facts about the effect of the revival, many of the members did come from a religious background. Twenty were children of parents who were both church members; fourteen had mothers in some church; the parents of twelve belonged to no church; and of others there is no information on this point in the First Church list of members.

Their ages ranged from seventy-three to seventeen, with the average a little over thirty. The greater number were between twenty and forty, with one over seventy and six under twenty. Curiously enough, some of those who returned to the First Church were among the youngest members.

It was a representative group so far as occupations were concerned, both at the beginning and throughout the first period. There were gentlemen of leisure as well as merchants, followers of various trades, and slaves. About most of the members there is little or no information, but among those that are known, were several merchants, four joiners, several innkeepers, one doctor, one hatter, one cooper and grave digger, one shoemaker, one miller, one weaver, one blacksmith, one locksmith and gunsmith, besides husbandmen and one man said to have some knowledge of the law.

Many of these men were honored by their fellow townsmen by being chosen to public offices. While not pretending that the numbers are at all complete, it is found, taking this first period as a whole, that more than twenty were selectmen (after 1774 one

selectman must be chosen from each ecclesiastical society), four were justices, fifteen were deputies, and among them at some time or other were a sheriff and a deputy-sheriff, a jailer, a county surveyor of land, eight of the first twenty councilmen and aldermen of the city, the first mayors, two treasurers, and a steward of Yale College.

New Lights were accused of being fanatical and disorderly. This church furnishes little evidence on these points. Preachers from outside were described by Old Lights as "boisterous," and James Davenport was certainly violent and abusive. It is reported that two young women fell in a trance at a New Light meeting here, and on other occasions. On the other hand Old Lights in New Haven were at least equally open to these charges. Besides the deacon in the First Church who refused to attend the funeral of a grandson whose father was a New Light, it may be recalled that some members of that church cut the timbers of the White Haven meeting-house. The fact that some men went to jail rather than pay the ecclesiastical tax might be considered to come under the head of persecution almost as well as under that of disorderly conduct.

A criticism usually made of the New Lights is lack of education. As to that charge, six of the first twenty-four male members were college graduates, as were three who came a little later, and this in the day of small college classes. Ten first members—themselves not college graduates—valued education enough to send sons to college, several of whom became ministers. Many paused on their way to this career to serve as Rectors of Hopkins Grammar School, usually for two years.

As to social position, two of the three men marked "Gentleman" on the Wadsworth map of New Haven (1748) belonged to the White Haven Church, James Pierpont and John Prout. Probably the highest social position in the church was that of the former, a college graduate, the son of one minister and a brother-in-law of two. Next him was John Prout, and perhaps next was Samuel Cooke, also a graduate of Yale and a minister's son. So far as can be told from the information about them and the positions of their sons in classes at Yale, where students at this time were listed according to the position of their fathers instead of alphabetically, most families from this church belonged to what would be called the middle or upper-middle class. Among the

first members were several "servants" or slaves, not all of them belonging to members of this church. Phillis was servant of Mr. Pierpont, Thomas of Mr. Prout, Cuff of Stephen Munson and later of Mr. Bird. Like white people these slaves were married by the minister and their children were baptized when there was some one to be responsible for them.

So far as money is concerned the situation seems to have been about the same. Timothy Jones, John Mix, and James Pierpont were wealthy men in the earliest years; David Austin, Roger Sherman, and Nathan Beers in the later. Other prosperous men were connected with the society, and sometimes served on its committees—Hezekiah Sabin, Daniel Alling, Silas Alling marked by President Stiles as "greatest List in T^o" and John, Leman, and Timothy Potter, all labeled as of "good estate."

Attention is called to certain individuals because of their importance in the church, and as giving specific illustrations of the kind of men in its membership. First coming into prominence in religious matters because of his connection with Whitefield in 1740 was James Pierpont, "Gentleman" (1699–1776), the most important single person in the church in its first years. His ministerial background and connections made him almost of the cloth. He was the eldest son and the namesake of the preceding pastor of the First Church, who was also one of the founders of Yale; he was the brother-in-law of two ministers—Jonathan Edwards of Northampton and Joseph Noyes of New Haven; his maternal grandfather was the Rev. Samuel Hooker.

If his ambition had been fulfilled, New Haven would have lost the family to the English peerage. The Rev. James Pierpont was descended from the younger branch of a distinguished English family, that had divided religiously and politically some time before and had lost track of each other. In England the family was represented by the childless Duke of Kingston. The Rev. James Pierpont carried on some correspondence with Jeremiah Dummer, the colonial agent in London, with the intention of establishing his position in the family, but died before this was accomplished. For fifty years his son James tried to have himself recognized as oldest in the male line of the younger branch of the family, with consequent claim to the title if the elder branch ended without male issue. After his father's death he presented the case anew through Jeremiah Dummer and after his death

through other less skilful means of approach. But a series of unfortunate events blocked his efforts. In 1749, after apparently abandoning the hope of being invited to the ancestral home and given formal recognition of the relationship, he intimated with equal lack of success that some honorable commission, such as the appointment as successor to Governor Shirley of Massachusetts, would be attractive to him and that the ducal influence would be helpful. Finally his son Evelyn, given the Christian name of the Duke of Kingston and spoken of as possible heir, took the patriotic side in the American Revolution, thus ending any chance of establishing the English connection.³

James Pierpont had the highest social position in his class of thirteen at Yale, not on account of his English connections, but because of his father's position in the colony. He was graduated in 1718 as Salutatorian, having joined the First Church June, 1718, shortly before. He started to follow in his father's footsteps by studying for the ministry, but went no further in that profession. He turned to teaching, first as Rector of Hopkins Grammar School (1718-1721) and next as tutor in the college (1722-1724). Leaving academic life for a business career, he was an apothecary in Boston for a few years. He returned to New Haven about 1736, rejoined the church in 1740 from a church in Boston, and lived here thereafter as a gentleman of leisure. His home was near the corner of Elm and Temple Streets.

Mr. Pierpont is said to have contributed so largely to building the White Haven meeting-house that he was almost ruined financially but it might be more accurate to say that he was land poor. His sister, the wife of the Rev. Joseph Noyes, was called an "heir-ess," with an estate mostly in practically unimproved lands around Hartford and Farmington. Mr. Pierpont's estate of £1400 also consisted principally of land, the value of which depreciated with the coming of the Revolutionary War. He was not a money-making man and the only indication of business activities on his part in New Haven is the permission given him by the General Assembly in 1737 to build a cart bridge over the river at or near the place called Dragon, with the right to charge tolls for its use. That he could not keep money either is suggested by the state-

³ Material for this paragraph in "The Lost Dukedom" by J. K. Blake, in New Haven Colony Historical Society Papers, VII, 258-287.

ment that as guardian of a nephew with a large estate he spent so much during the minority of his charge that to replace it he bequeathed the nephew the family mansion and family portraits which usually stayed in the eldest branch of the family.⁴ There is no suggestion of anything dishonest or dishonorable.

The only public office he held was that of selectman in 1773. While he apparently did not care to hold civil office, his interest in the White Haven Church was great and his services for it many and important. For a long time after he welcomed and entertained George Whitefield in 1740, he was active in its affairs; he headed petitions to the County Court and other bodies; was a member of the first committee to "manage the Prudentials"; acted on many other committees; became its first clerk, holding that office for many years; and served as treasurer from 1753 to 1756. In that year the church decided to call on younger men as administrators. He did not join in the separation of 1769 and the formation of the Fair Haven Church. It might be thought that this was due to family loyalty, since the cause of the split was opposition to the ordination of his nephew. But family feelings had not restrained him in 1742, when his sister's husband was minister of the First Church.

His tombstone called him the "Friend of God and lover of his country."

John Prout, Jr., Esquire and Gentleman, to give him all his titles (1689-1776), was born at New Haven, the only son of a British sea-captain who had settled here, coming from Devonshire about 1670. His mother belonged to a New Haven family. He was graduated from Yale in 1708, and for six years at the close of his life was the oldest living graduate. At the time of his death the New Haven newspaper said that "in life [he] was intrusted with several important offices . . . all which he performed with honour and fidelity." His record of public service began in 1714 when he was made Naval Officer for the Port of New Haven. He was selectman, 1728, probate clerk 1727-1742, and justice of the peace many times after 1735. From 1717 to 1765 he was treasurer of Yale.

In 1716 he joined the First Church in the first group admitted by Mr. Noyes. There was then no standing doctrine of faith,

⁴ E. K. Foster in Centennial Celebration of the wedding of John Pierpont and Sarah Beers, p. 13.

or creed, each person preparing one for himself when he became a member. The one John Prout wrote in 1716 was used both by himself and the nine others who joined at the same time and then by the church until 1770. With two daughters and a servant he joined the White Haven Church in 1742 and he lived to take part in a second separation. His wife, "a Gentlewoman of an amiable character through life," and two daughters stayed in the First Church, but there was no family dissension. The obituary notice mentioned above said that his widow was deprived of "a most loving and faithful husband." Through relatives he had many connections with the new church. His daughter, Sarah, married its first settled pastor, and both his sister Margaret, wife of a member, Moses Mansfield, and her daughter Susanna, wife of Samuel Cooke, another member also joined the church.

In 1741 Mr. Prout signed the protest against Mr. Noyes, and nearly thirty years later he signed another—against the ordination of Mr. Edwards. In the list made by President Stiles of the Fair Haven Church or New Haven New Congregation, as he called it, Mr. Prout's name is third. He was one of its first members when it was organized as a church.

He had eight children, but left no male issue. His two sons, John and Timothy, died young, one of them while still a student in college. One daughter, Miss Peggy Prout, who joined the church July, 1742, lived until 1794. Through her the family name is still kept in Prout Street, which in her day was a crooked alley known as Peggy's Elbow. Mr. Prout's sister married the son of the Regicide Dixwell, and after his death Mr. Prout became guardian of the children.

President Stiles said he was "the Gentleman and the Christian," a man of "social and communicative disposition." His tombstone in Grove Street Cemetery eulogizes him as "A Gentleman of an Established Character for Probity and seriousness."

Younger than Mr. Pierpont or Mr. Prout was Samuel Cooke, Jr. (1711-1788), the eldest son of a minister and a grandson of one of the signers of the Plantation Covenant of Guilford. He was born in New Haven while his father was Rector of Hopkins Grammar School. The family was living in a house on the north side of Elm Street between Church and Orange Streets, built on a lot which had been bought from Isaac Jones, a grandson of Governor Eaton. The house had been rebuilt by Samuel Cooke, Sr., on the site of the Eaton house and on a smaller scale, using

the remains of that house. When Mr. Cooke, Sr., left New Haven in 1716 it was sold to Joseph Noyes, his successful rival for the pastorate of the church. In the transfer to Mr. Noyes the property was described as "one messuage," with three and a quarter acres of land, some of which had belonged to the Dickerman family. Also mentioned as transferred were all fruit trees, herbage and a well.

In 1716, the father, having failed to be chosen minister in New Haven, became pastor of a church in Stratfield. The son was third in a class of eighteen which was graduated from Yale in 1730. His wife was Susanna Mansfield, member of an old New Haven family, the daughter of Moses and Margery Prout Mansfield, thus making him nephew-in-law of John Prout. A son was graduated from Yale in 1758.

The church was organized at his house and his father was a leading member of the council that formed it. Mr. Cooke was on various church committees and often acted as agent for it at the General Assembly. Doubtless he was chosen on committees to deal with religious difficulties because of his character as "a Gentleman of great natural benevolence" and because "in civil and social life and in conciliating differences unavoidable among neighbors, he had a singular talent at promoting concord, harmony and love." But in spite of these amiable qualities he was, like John Prout, in two church separations, for later he signed the petition against the ordination of Mr. Edwards and was active in forming the Fair Haven Church. In public life he held many offices—deputy, selectman, justice. At different times he taught school. In later years he was infirm and unfortunate.

Another member of the older group of founders and early members was Capt. James Talmadge, born 1689 and still living 1765, an ancestor of the famous Talmadge family of Litchfield. He and his wife, Hannah Harrison, were both born in Branford, but his mother Abigail Bishop, was herself a member of the First Church and daughter of a member. James and Hannah Talmadge joined the White Haven Church in 1742, with their two children, Abigail and Benjamin. The latter soon returned to the First Church. James Talmadge was a joiner, who did much work on the college buildings. Interested in military affairs, he was made Cornet in 1731, Lieutenant in 1734, Captain in 1735, and commanded the only troop of cavalry in Connecticut. He also held town offices—as selectman many times, and was appointed

on committees by the General Assembly, besides serving on other local committees. He was on the first Prudential Committee, as it might be called, of the White Haven Church. He lived on the west side of the original town plot, and society meetings were sometimes held in his house.

Older than any of these men, though becoming a member only at a later date was Isaac Dickerman, the first deacon (1677-1758), ancestor of Horace Dickerman, later elected deacon. Son of a man who was in the General Assembly twenty-one times, Isaac Dickerman was chosen to many offices in town, colony, and church.

Beginning as constable in 1710, he was selectman at various times after 1712, deputy in the General Assembly fifty-nine times, and Justice of the Peace for nearly a quarter of a century (1735-1758). In this office he performed fifty-four marriages, for in those days many were married by that officer rather than by the minister. In the General Assembly he served on committees requiring special judicial and conciliatory qualities, and was apparently regarded by that body as the particular representative of the interests of Yale College. As prominent in religious as in civil affairs, he was deacon of the First Church from 1727 until 1754, when he left to become a member and a deacon of the White Haven Church. He was a member of many committees of the First Church which dealt with the troubles, and seems to have retained his membership for several years in the hope of a reconciliation between the two parties. Perhaps it was his New Light sympathies that caused his long service as deputy to the General Assembly to be broken when he was not reelected from May 1741 to October 1747, a period when the general feeling in New Haven was especially hostile to the dissenters. In the First Church he was moderator fourteen or more times, and on the Standing Committee thirty-one times. When he finally left that church a prominent member, Jared Ingersoll, wrote sarcastic verses on his long balancing of the two parties. The following lines, typical of the style, are among those referring to the church dissension:

"Here lies Squire Steady, for Religion ever fam'd . . .
So equi-poised was his mind 'twixt One thing & another
He never knew his own mind for two hours together.
Long did the two houses for Religious Worship prepar'd
Contend for his presence, which neither wholly shar'd."

He was a "husbandman," living on Broadway, and he owned about 245 acres of land, some of it where Donald G. Mitchell's "Edgewood" was later built. His second wife, Mrs. Elizabeth Alling Morris, widow of John Morris of East Haven, left money to the church. Jared Ingersoll referred to this marriage in the poem quoted above, and in the same sarcastic and pedestrian manner. A visible reminder of Isaac Dickerman today is a silver cup donated by him.

Two David Austins, father and son, were connected with the White Haven Church from its beginning to the time of its union with the Fair Haven Church, and another member of the family, Samuel, was pastor of the latter church. The first David (1703-1759) was known as Lieutenant Austin. He was one of those received by the White Haven Church at its formation who came from no particular church, but were accepted as members on their owning the covenant and making profession of religion. He may have been brought in through his wife, Rebecca, a daughter of Samuel Thompson, the oldest member, and through his brother Stephen. His services to the church were important, but his career is overshadowed by that of his son.

The second David (1732-1801), known as Esquire, was one of the most prominent citizens of New Haven, a wealthy and public spirited man. He kept school most of the year 1762, was selectman, 1767, alderman from the beginning of the city government (1784-1797), collector of customs (1793-1801), and member of many city committees. In the Revolution he was on important committees, such as those of Inspection and Correspondence and was one of those who had a powder mill. He was wounded in the British invasion.

Though without a regular business or profession, he was one of the two largest shareholders in the New Haven Bank, the first in New Haven, a director, and was chosen president at the first meeting of the board. He left an estate of over \$30,000, a large one for the time. He lived on the southeast corner of Church and Crown Streets. In 1801 this place was sold to Dr. Elijah Munson for \$800.

Mr. Austin was for a long time prominent in the affairs of the White Haven Church. The fourth deacon appointed, he served in that office forty-three years, until his death (1758-1801). He lent money to the church when it was in financial

difficulties and was in charge of dispensing much of its charity to the poor of the church. As has been said, he did not always agree with the minister, Dr. Edwards, but he did not leave the church. He was in sympathy with his stand on the question of slavery, serving at one time as president of the Connecticut Society for the Promotion of Freedom and Relief of Persons unlawfully holden in Bondage.

Socially, his family was prominent. Tutor Simeon Baldwin, one of a group of young people fond of society, picnics, and dancing, told of taking tea at Deacon Austin's, when a "large and brilliant circle graced the room." This sounds like a forerunner of the modern Afternoon Tea. One of his daughters married Roger Sherman's son John who was for a time in business in Derby with Dr. Levi Ives. The marriage ended in her divorcing him. A son, David, a brilliant but erratic clergyman, helped to plant the trees around the Green.

Equally prominent in town and church were another father and son, Timothy Jones and Timothy, Jr. The first Timothy (1696-1780) was "an eminent shop-keeper." President Stiles said he "honestly amassed a handsome Estate a considerable part of w^h his Sons found occasion to expend before his death." Mr. Jones had some reputation of being ungenerous in his dealings with people, or "very close to his Interest," as President Stiles expressed it. "But," he added, "long neglected accounts sometimes subject Merchants to such Imput^a when yet they have dealt with Honesty & Integrity. After all he needed a better Righteousness than his own to carry him to heaven." He lived in a large red house on the corner of State and Court Streets, in which many of the first meetings of the church were held. Later it was used as a boarding school and was standing until 1878.

Mr. Jones was "hopefully converted" about 1719 by reading a book written by Joseph Allein, and was a New Light of a prudent, cautious, neutral kind, not an enthusiast nor caring for innovations in doctrine. "He could never abide New Divinity." He was charitable, but "conscientiously, not so much from a natural Beneficence." His tombstone in Grove Street Cemetery says he was "a Gentleman Renowned for Piety Religion & Virtue and died with hopes of Immortality."

His sons, Timothy and Isaac, were graduated from Yale College in the class of 1757, their places in the middle of their class

of forty showing the social position of the family. Like many others, Timothy, Jr. was Rector of Hopkins Grammar School for two years after graduation from college. Then, following his father's example, he became a merchant. A descendant of Deputy-Governor Jones, and through the latter's wife, Mary Eaton Jones, of Governor Eaton, he followed the family tradition of holding public office. He was Justice of the Peace, first selectman for much of the time after 1776, councilman and alderman for so many years after the town became a city that he was usually called Alderman Jones. He was sent to the General Assembly in 1786. An original member of the Second Company of the Foot Guards, he was author of the memorial to the General Assembly asking for a charter. He was on the Revolutionary Committees of Inspection and Correspondence.

As one of the leading men of the town he appeared officially at functions such as the laying of the cornerstone of the new college building. A pleasant act is told by Jesse Lee, the Methodist, in connection with his visit to New Haven in 1789. After he had preached in the Court House, "Mr. Jones asked me to go to tea with him, which invitation I accepted," but Mr. Jones then felt he had done his duty, for Jesse Lee added regretfully, the next day "no man asked me home with him." He said that New Haven treated him as a stranger, except for this courtesy.

Mr. Jones joined the church in December, 1783, propounded for full communion by no less a personage than President Stiles, who was taking the place of Mr. Edwards that afternoon while he was preaching in the college chapel. He held office in the church and in the society.

Samuel Bishop, Jr. (1723-1803), belonged to a family prominent in New Haven from early times. His ancestor came from England to New Haven in 1647 and his grandmother was a sister of Elihu Yale. The ancestor, James, soon became one of the leading men, and he and his descendants for five generations, nearly two centuries, held most of the important offices in town. The family home all this time was at the northwest corner of State and Elm Streets, a block from that of Timothy Jones.

Samuel, Jr., or third as he would be called today, held many public offices—Justice of the Peace (1760-1786), town clerk for fifty-four years, representative fifty-four terms, mayor following the death of Roger Sherman from 1783 until his own

death ten years later. He was chief judge of the court of Common Pleas for New Haven County, judge of probate, and collector for the Port of New Haven. His appointment by President Jefferson to this office when he was an old man caused great excitement. He joined the White Haven Church in April, 1760, and in December was made deacon, the fifth one chosen. He was clerk of this Society and of the Society formed by the union in 1796, in all holding the office from December, 1759 to December, 1801, annually reelected until he declined the office. He was succeeded by his nephew, Elisha Munson, who in turn acted as clerk until his death in 1841, nearly forty years. He also followed his uncle in the office of town clerk. Samuel, Jr., served on many committees in the church, and soon after he joined gave a "silver Bason for Baptism."

Like David Austin he was on the committee for making New Haven a city in 1784, was one of the powerful political leaders, and like Isaac Dickerman was subject of bitter verses by a political opponent. The following familiar lines are the ones referring to him.

"Old Deacon Bishop stands,
With well be-frizzled wig,
File leader of the bands,
To open with a jig.
With parrot-toe
The poor, old man
Tries all he can
To make it go."

Mr. Bishop was blessed with worldly goods, having a negro slave, and paying a duty of three dollars on a two-wheeled carriage, called a chair, with wooden springs, having a top and drawn by one horse. This was a rare sight in New Haven.

Nathan Beers, first of a family active in the church for a long period, came to New Haven to live in order to join the White Haven Church and to educate his sons at Yale. The first object he fulfilled. As to the second he changed his mind. He was born in Stratford, August, 1718. He left Stratford when the minister of his church, the Rev. Hezekiah Gold, was dismissed in 1753, partly because of his New Light sympathies. He entertained Whitefield in October, 1740, after he left New Haven. When Mr. Gold was dismissed, several of his parishioners left,

Nathan Beers coming to New Haven. It is said that when he arrived here no one would bring his goods from the boat because he was a New Light and that he had to get a farmer from out of town to do this. He stayed, however, and he and his wife, Hannah, joined the White Haven Church in October, 1756.

Mr. Beers became a large landowner, especially of the west meadows for a long distance from York Street. It was principally through his efforts that a dyke was built across them. He lived at first near the Green, later at the corner of York and Chapel Streets in the "Beers quarter." He was a tailor, and though one of the wealthiest men in the White Haven Society he made his son learn a trade instead of going to college, having decided that the students were too wicked. He cultivated fine fruits, introducing several kinds of pears, apples, and grapes. He was another of New Haven's leading citizens who was a slaveholder, owning two. He subscribed to building the college chapel and as his tombstone said, he was "for the last 25 years of his life a respectable inhabitant of this Town." He was wounded in his own house at the time of the British invasion so severely that he died a few days later, July 10, 1779.

His children were equally "respectable inhabitants." A daughter, Sarah, married John Pierpont, a grandson of the Rev. James; another daughter, Hannah, married Hezekiah Howe and after his death, Elias Stilwell, a prominent citizen; and his sons, Isaac, Elias, and Nathan, Jr., were also important men. Of the sons only Nathan joined this church.

William Greenough, Esquire (1701-1791), an early member of the Fair Haven Church, the first of his name in New Haven, came about 1730 from his native town of Boston. He had the unusual distinction of having been in London. His grandfather, Capt. William Greenough, settled in Boston between 1640 and 1650.

Mr. Greenough was a ship's carpenter, with a ship-yard at Greenough's Point, on the east bank of the West Creek where it empties into the harbor. Here he built several vessels. He also at one time had an interest in the wharf. He lived at the water-side, as it was called in those days, until he married for his second wife Abigail, the widow of Samuel Mix, the schoolmaster. He went to live in her house on the site of Battell Chapel, which then was known as Greenough House. Later it was bought by James

Hillhouse for the use of Yale College and was standing until 1855. Mr. Greenough had five slaves and the list of 1768 showed him as the owner of one of the largest estates in the society. In 1757 he was on the committee of seceders who, as members at the same time of the First Society, called Mr. Bird to be its minister, and in 1763 his name appears on a committee of the White Haven Society. In 1768 he signed the protest against the installation of Mr. Edwards and on the day the Fair Haven Church was organized he was propounded for communion. He was one of the signers of the petition to the General Assembly in 1773 for the incorporation of the Fair Haven Society, and in 1774 was moderator of that body.

Mr. Greenough's name is not so familiar as those of some of the early members, but he seems to have been a man prominent in the community. He was selectman, 1759-1766; on the Committee of Inspection in 1774; and on the roll of Freemen at the incorporation of the city in 1784. President Stiles spoke of him as "An upright worthy Citizen, & truly pious and religious." At his funeral Mr. Stiles prayed at the house and spoke at the grave. With the fondness for detail which makes him so interesting, and so valuable a portrayer of the life of his time, he reported that at the funeral three ministers were present and had white scarves which they wore the next day, the contemporary counterpart of mourning bands of the sleeves.

Mr. Greenough's tombstone says, "He was a man of industry and integrity, of inoffensive and obliging manners, of exemplary piety and benevolence through a long life beloved and respected by all. The memory of the Just is blessed." Like Mr. Bishop and Mr. Dickerman he is remembered today by a silver cup.

Roger Sherman is called the Theophilus Eaton of his day and of his public life it is unnecessary to speak. It was said of him that "He went through all the grades of public life, & grew in them all & filled every Office with Propriety, Ability, & though not with showy Brilliancy, yet with that Dignity which arises from doing everything perfectly right." He began to serve the White Haven Church almost from the time he joined it by letter in 1761. Though away from New Haven a great deal of the time, he kept informed about church affairs, as has been shown by his interest in the troubles over Mr. Edwards. Besides being "exemplary for Piety & serious Religion," he was, as President Dwight said,

profoundly versed in theology. President Stiles had the same opinion and gives the information that he "once printed a well & judiciously written Sermon of his own Composition." His religion was "far from all Enthusiasm," and he preferred a back seat in the sanctuary. He served on church and society committees at various times.

Another distinguished man whose career is well known, Col. David Wooster, was a member of the White Haven Church. The duties which took him away from New Haven a great deal of the time were military. When here he was a successful merchant, living in a prosperous, almost elegant home. Unlike most of his fellow citizens he had been presented to the King. On a visit to England in the course of his military career he had been feted and honored, and given a commission in the British army. He was described as "good" as well as "grand and soldier like." His piety is illustrated by his leading his troops to prayer service in the church before leaving on a campaign.⁵ President Dwight said of him that he "was long a professor of Religion and adorned the profession by an irreproachable and exemplary life." He is remembered in New Haven by the names of Wooster Street and Wooster Square.

Many others deserve mention—Stephen Munson, locksmith and gunsmith, whose literary taste led him to buy Pilgrim's Progress and a Psalm Book, holder of town and church offices and belonging to a family long represented in the church; Captain Phineas Bradley, silversmith and button-maker, who did much work on the meeting house in 1764; and Deacon Daniel Lyman, Yale graduate, merchant, "honorably promoted to several offices of distinction in civil life which he discharged with honor to himself & usefulness to the public & died justly respected & lamented." There was Joseph Mix, who, after an active life in church and town, in 1757 retired "to sleep from Earth's Tumultuous throng," leaving two sons, Joseph and Timothy, to continue serving the church. Timothy, suspended from college for "Miscarriages, Delinquencies and Crimes," later restored after confession, but not graduated, studied to be a minister and ended as a physician. In another prominent family was James Gilbert, who "sustained the office of Deacon with fidelity a number of years [1773-1797] in Fair Haven Church."

⁵ See p. 128.

One would like to know something of the women of these two churches, both the "Sisters," or members in full communion, and the "Females." Among those whose names have come down are Mercy Mix Alling, the lone woman who signed one of the first papers in the controversy of 1742, but who died before the church was organized; Ruth Tuttle who gave land and Elizabeth Dickerman who gave money to the infant church; the two wives of Alderman Jones, the one "the friend of Virtue and the Christian life and sweetly died in Faith," and the other, the "amiable Consort. . . . Born for Heaven, Fulfilled her Visit and returned on High." Concerning Mrs. Mary Cooper Mix, who was "very exemplary In her Life and had a Peaceful Joyful Death," there are indications that her life might not have been entirely joyful and peaceful. Most famous is Mary Clap Wooster, "a lady distinguished for the first intelligence and virtue." Daughter of the President of Yale and wife of Col. David Wooster, she was mistress of a fine home until her husband's financial contributions to the cause of freedom left her impoverished. There was also Hannah, wife of Nathan Beers, who died in 1764, having looked well to her ways, "a Virtuous, Beloved, and Faithful Wife, a Pious, Careful Parent, and Tender Mother, and a Sincere Friend and Christian." Always individually and quietly women of the church were doing acts of charity. The epitaph for them all might be that of Mrs. Amy Bradley of the White Haven Church, who died in 1795, of whom it was said that "exemplary piety and charity, humility and meekness, compassion to the distressed and alms to the poor embalm her memory."

These are some of the people who founded and carried on the two first churches throughout the years of separation, trial, and reunion. The record of their lives shows that in religious and civil affairs they had both the courage of their convictions and the determination and ability to embody their beliefs in ecclesiastical and political institutions. They were worthy descendants and successors of Davenport, Eaton, and the other planters of Quinnipiac.

CHAPTER XXI

MEN OF THE NORTH AND THIRD CHURCHES

When young Mr. Merwin came to the pulpit of the North Church in 1805 and looked over the congregation, he decided that "viewed individually or collectively as compared with others in the city, [it] had its full proportion of numbers, talent, wealth and respectability." Seated in the pews, he said, were "not a few of the cultivated and refined, the rich, the elevated and honorable in society." As revivals added new members these characteristics were maintained. In the ranks of the hundred joining in 1808, for example, "were intelligent mechanics, respectable merchants, businessmen, actually engaged in navigation and commerce or retired from these active pursuits; accomplished teachers, with gentlemen of liberal education, in *each* of the learned professions." So true is this that any account of the members of the church which shows what kind of men they were, gives also a picture of the life and occupations of the city.

On better acquaintance Mr. Merwin discovered a disquieting fact, that an unusually large number "were past the meridian of life." The problem before the church was almost the opposite from that of 1742. Then its strength was in the congregation, and it was impossible to have a minister; now with a new, young minister, it was necessary to find new members among young people. Three of the pillars of the church, for example, had recently died, men whose lives and relationships spanned its life—David Austin, son of David, an original member of the White Haven Church; Timothy Jones, Jr., son of another; and Samuel Bishop, Jr., who had joined in 1760. The last acts of these fathers in Israel in a definite way bridged the two periods of the church history. They were on the committees which brought the two churches together, chose the new minister, presided at the first meeting, and looked forward to a new era of friendliness and cooperation with the First Church. But their work was done, their lives were ended, and to take their places new leaders must be found.

Several of the members of his congregation were nearly of the same age as the church itself. Henry Daggett was born in 1741, Abel Burritt in 1742, and Isaac Thompson in 1743. Of the Jeremiah Atwaters, one was born in 1734, the other, known as Jeremiah the second, in 1744. Among the Sisters were women equally old—Mary Clap Wooster, born in 1729, Hannah Sanford Sanford, in 1733, Esther Gilbert Hotchkiss in 1735, and others during the years through 1743. The dozen or so men active and able to bear the burden of the church were middle-aged and settled in the eyes of the twenty-four-year-old minister and his seventeen year old bride. Roger Sherman, the youngest, was thirty-seven, and between forty and fifty were John Skinner and William S. Jarman, who later became deacon. Two of the deacons, Nathan Beers, Jr., and Levi Ives were in their fifties.

But in spite of the present lack of young people, there were in the church families that not only had long served it, but were to do so throughout this coming period and into the next. Many family relationships, like those of the first days, were potential sources of strength and continuity. Deacon Beers was son of the Nathan who had come from Stratford half a century before to join the White Haven Church; and his son, Timothy, and a grandson, Timothy Phelps Beers, were to serve the church almost to the middle of the century. Roger Sherman, the son, Henry Daggett, the brother-in-law, Simeon Baldwin, the son-in-law, Roger Sherman Baldwin and Roger Sherman Skinner, grandsons, represented the family of Roger Sherman. Through a great-grandson, Simeon E. Baldwin, the family continued active in the church for the first quarter of the twentieth century.

There were also men who acted on society committees and in varying degrees gave their time and effort without becoming members of the church. In the last decade of the eighteenth century two men who had a slight connection with the church are representative of many of their generation and of a changed outlook—Pierpont Edwards, brother of Jonathan, and Abraham Bishop, son of Samuel. Neither of them joined the church, nor seemed to have much interest in its affairs. They were active in politics and were leaders in the growing movement for the separation of church and state. They had their children baptized, and served on one or two committees of the society, but perhaps their brief appearance in church activities was through their connection

with the minister, Mr. Gemmil, and was not entirely distinct from their interest in politics.

There was another group of men who acted on society committees and in greater degrees gave much time and effort without immediately becoming members of the church. David Daggett and Simeon Baldwin, leaders in the Standing Order, who did not join the church until they were old men, are typical of this group. Simeon Baldwin served on many committees of the society, and was interested and active in religious and benevolent affairs, but though he showed his belief in the church and in religion in this way and by holding family devotions, he did not become a member until his seventieth year. Just as in earlier years men were Half Way Covenant members, because they had not experienced a "change of heart," so men like this were deterred from membership because they could not subscribe to the doctrines and creeds into which the theological discussions following the Great Awakening were hardening. When Simeon Baldwin's wife joined the church in 1804, he wrote her concerning his taking the same step, that "nothing but the difficulty of solving some of those nice questions in theology which I am more and more persuaded has nothing to do with morals and piety has hitherto prevented me." David Daggett, said Mr. Dutton, was "in the Sanctuary as regularly as the gates of Zion were opened on the Sabbath." He himself said he had not been absent from public worship on the Sabbath for more than forty years. He was schooled in theology and his knowledge of the Bible, the "book of books" he called it, was extraordinary in its extent and accuracy. "You must look out," a lawyer said, "how you quote Scripture when Daggett is on the bench." He, too, was active in society affairs. An illustration of an analogous attitude somewhat later was the case of Isaac H. Townsend, son of an "Opulent tradesman" and member of the Faculty of the Law School. He served on committees of the society, but not merely made no public profession of religion, but gave up going to church in order to read and study the Bible and religious books. His absence was not due to theological differences, for he followed Dwight's theology. Mr. Dutton, in his funeral discourse said that this action was a mistake, but that there was no doubt that he was a real child of God.

The same problem of membership that met Mr. Merwin in 1805 confronted Mr. Dutton when he became pastor in 1838. He

said the church had few young people, "an element of weakness from which we have never fully recovered." But in both cases revivals brought in new life, those of the later period gradually merging into dependence on training the children, especially in the Sunday School. Apparently the lack of young people is a condition ever recurring, for in an annual report for 1891, Dr. Munger said that at the time of the union of the Third and North Churches both had a great number of old persons in their membership. "I minister," he said, "to a people in which there is a large number of aged people," and he added, plucking figs from thistles, "that members of Christian churches double and more than double the life of a generation."

Taking up first the condition in respect to the addition of new members in the early years of the nineteenth century, the greater number were women. But among the men who joined the church from time to time a new group of leaders was developing. Some of those coming from other towns to live in New Haven joined this church. In 1803 Daniel Read joined the church by certificate from Attleborough, Mass. He was one of the "respectable merchants" mentioned by Mr. Merwin, and lived ¹ and had a store on the north side of Broadway, just above York Street, a section which was becoming a center and place of business where country people traded for many years. He bought cattle and horses, made and sold horn and tortoise shell combs, and compiled singing books. Later he gave up trade and was organist, choir leader, and composer. The next year, 1804, William S. Jarman, keeper of a store on State Street, joined also by certificate from out of town and later served as deacon for twenty years from 1826 to 1847. Another prominent man coming in by certificate was Eleazar Foster, who among other services to the church, was one of the contractors who built the present edifice on the green. And so, through newcomers and through family relationship, such as that of the Sherman family, and directly by members of the old families—Beers, Pundersons, and Gilberts, for instance, continuing in the church—its life stream was fed.

In 1808, a revival year, more men came into its membership who were to be prominent in its work for many years. Some had names new to the church; two later became deacons—Charles Bostwick, now thirty-six, and Sherman Blair, now twenty-two.

¹ Map prepared by Arnold G. Dana shows its exact location.

In 1809 came Claudius Herrick, connected with the Beers family, who joined by certificate; Timothy Bishop, who first joined the society and later, in 1817, the church; Nathaniel Jocelyn, the artist, in 1820, deacon in 1834; Atwater Treat, also deacon later; in 1821 Marcus Merriman; in 1823 Charles B. Lines, one of the church's most picturesque members; in 1825 James Brewster, carriage maker, wealthy, generous, and public spirited; and in 1831 Sherman Knevals, later deacon—to give a few names.

Was Mr. Merwin right when he spoke of the wealth and talent of his congregation? And did the statement hold for the later years? A little after the middle of the century Mr. Dutton said in his *Twenty Five Year Discourse*, "I do not think there is any congregation in the state in which during the same period, so many eminent persons have deceased; or any other minister in the state who has so often been required by manifest propriety to give a sketch of the life and character of those he had been called on to bury." A list of the subjects of these addresses bears out the claim.

Included in the membership of the North Church are two governors, two senators, a member of Congress, several judges, several mayors of the city, aldermen, councilmen and holders of many other important city positions. Of the other occupations mentioned by Mr. Merwin the professions were represented by lawyers, doctors, members of the college faculty; business, by shipping merchants, manufacturers, storekeepers, and those engaged in the new occupations of banking and insurance—that is, members of the new moneyed class. As in the earlier period the membership was a cross section of the life of the town and illustrated the economic changes coming about. Among the original members of the church had been slaves, and now, before the organization of the church for colored people, their baptisms and marriages are entered in its records.

The statement is often made that before disestablishment, in 1818, Connecticut was under the control of the Standing Order, a little group of men prominent in both church and state, whose church connections were useful politically. What are the facts in this church? In the first place it is true that some important political leaders of the state were members of this church or society, two in particular of those who were special objects of attack by rising Republican and Tolerationist opposition—David Dag-

gett and Elizur Goodrich, the latter only from 1793 to 1801, when he was dismissed. David Daggett was almost continuously in public office for forty-five years. Another, Simeon Baldwin, said in a letter of 1829, "I never claimed the honor of being a leader of the Federalist party; but I never suspected there was a want of confidence in me, or that any important party secrets were designedly withheld from me." Meetings both of the party and of charitable societies were held in his office, and he was actively connected with the Bank and the Union Wharf—an example of the frequent combination of business and political interests with prominence in charitable societies and in the Congregational Church that roused the suspicions of those in the opposite party who belonged to less favored denominations and held fewer political offices.

Criticism was not all from the outside. An editor of a New Haven newspaper, connected with the church, was the subject of complaint in October, 1817, in a letter to the minister. The complaint was that he printed inflammatory pieces against the churches, especially calling them "by way of derision 'Platformists'—'the Standing Order'—charging to them an alliance of church and state and of aiming at Political and Ecclesiastical domination." Other similar charges were made in the letter, but it was endorsed with the statement that the complaint had been withdrawn because of his confession. Afterwards in answer to an inquiry as to why he had stayed away from communion, it was found that he had become a Methodist and the church withdrew its watch and care. This, and the affair of Mr. Gemmil, seem to be the only direct cases at least, in the church in this period in which politics figured.

In the discussions over the financial affairs of the church in 1833 the committee, on which were Federalists like David Daggett and Simeon Baldwin, cast wistful glances back to the days when men were obliged to support the church, but they realized that those days were gone. If one should venture on the dangerous ground of generalization, especially in a situation where there is little or no evidence except that which is negative, it would be rather to suggest that, in so far as this church is concerned, in those days men who were leaders in the church and in good works felt a real interest and played an active part in politics and public life and service. Perhaps that constituted a ruling class in New

Haven. Later as the character of politics changed, such men gradually withdrew until today there is on their part little active participation in politics and the ruling class is of another kind. Which situation is better is a matter of opinion. An example of the beginning of this tendency to withdraw from "the mire of politics" is the feeling of Isaac H. Townsend of this church. In 1834 he represented New Haven in the Connecticut Legislature, but said his pastor, "his natural straightforwardness and simplicity were so much offended with the crookedness and policy and contentions and unpleasant excitements of political life, that he firmly resolved never to enter it, and never to accept any political office except that of Justice of the Peace, so that he might sign his own writs."

In view of the great number of prominent members of the church in this long period, only a few can be considered and it is convenient to take them in groups. First is what may be called a legal-political group of men who were united by ties of family, friendship, profession, and interests. Its leading members have already been mentioned—Simeon Baldwin and his son Roger Sherman Baldwin; David and Henry Daggett, cousins; Roger Sherman, Jr.; and John Skinner. All but David Daggett were connected by marriage or blood with the family of Roger Sherman; all but John Skinner were graduates of Yale. Simeon Baldwin and David Daggett were about the same age and were intimate friends. They belonged to the same profession, the law, having read it together under the direction of Judge Chauncey, and they had been admitted to the bar at the same time; they were closely connected politically; they lived in the same neighborhood and their families were friendly; they joined the church at about the same time, late in life, and died within a short time of one another.

The offices, both civil and judicial, held by this group of men at one time or another, included most, it might also be said, of those in city, state, and Federal governments. The presence of these men in so many offices and their close connection with each other might well lay them open to the charge of forming an order.

Representative of this group in many ways was Simeon Baldwin, though not so powerful politically as David Daggett. Stability or steady habits are illustrated by the family. Simeon was born in Norwich in 1761 on the ground assigned to his great-grandfather a hundred years earlier (1660), where his father and

grandfather before him had been born. His father was a pillar in the church and an officeholder in town and colony. Young Simeon went from Master Tisdale's school in Lebanon to Yale where he was graduated in the class of 1781. He taught school and studied law in Albany for a short time, and returned to New Haven as a tutor in the college. He continued his law studies, but his duties and studies did not prevent him from having a gay time at parties and dances with a group of young people that included the daughter of Roger Sherman whom he married. About this time a friend addressed him in a letter as "the completest Beau of the age." In a correspondence with a college friend he called himself Adolphus, the friend was Gustavus. He was admitted to the bar in 1786 and lived to be its oldest member in Connecticut. While still uncertain as to his choice of a profession or occupation, he had thoughts of becoming a minister, a survival of the days when a large proportion of college graduates entered that profession. This does not seem to have been a very serious intention, but as a young man recently graduated he spent some time "studying into points in Divinity in w^h I have doubts—for whatever business in Life I follow that cannot be omitted." He did not become a minister and felt that "speculative opinions in theology . . . have bewildered many & . . . have nothing to do with morals and piety." But he said he had "no doubt of the beneficial influence which a regular clergy & religious institutions have both on Society & private families."

It was natural that when he came to New Haven to live he should connect himself with the White Haven Society. His older brother, Ebenezer, had been a friend of Mr. Edwards, and both his parents were New Lights. For his first and second wives he married daughters of Roger Sherman, a member of that church. He soon took part in its life, holding many offices in the society—collector, member of the Prudential Committee, moderator and was appointed to membership on other committees. He finally united with the church in 1831, having delayed, said his pastor, because he was never able to date the commencement of his religious life.

The public offices that he filled at various times were those of alderman, mayor, member of the Board of Health, judge, and congressman. In the business world, he was equally prominent. He was one of the original subscribers of the New Haven Bank;

a director and the first president of the New Haven Savings Bank; one of the first directors of the New Haven Insurance Company and president of the Board of Commissioners for the Farmington Canal. He was one of the first to invest money in the stock of private corporations; he owned shares in the Litchfield County Turnpike Company and in the New Haven and Hartford Turnpike Company.

In reform work he was a member and officeholder in all the societies that were forming for humanitarian purposes. He was called on to preside at so many meetings of such organizations as to seem almost perennial chairman, automatically chosen to that position when a group was assembled. His qualities were not brilliant, said his pastor, but he inspired confidence and respect; he was always sane, upright, deliberate, intelligent, and prudent. His twelve year's service as judge ended in 1818, but when he returned to private practice, he found that his son, Roger Sherman Baldwin, had won fame, and he had become, as Leonard Bacon said, the honored father of a still more honored son.

Roger Sherman Baldwin, his son, was one of the ablest lawyers that Connecticut has produced. After serving terms in the New Haven Common Council and in the Connecticut General Assembly, he became governor of the state and later United States senator. His career as senator was shortened because of his anti-slavery interests already noticed in connection with the Amistad case. He had the most lucrative practice in the state. Like his father and his son, he was active in church affairs.

The other members of the group followed different occupations. John Skinner originally a doctor, became sheriff for many years and held other offices, Roger Sherman, Jr., was a prominent shipping merchant on Long Wharf, and Capt. Henry Daggett was a storekeeper. The latter, a classmate of the Rev. Allyn Mather at Yale, was treasurer of the Fair Haven Church and afterwards for many years treasurer of the church formed by the union in 1796. He was alderman almost continuously for thirty-two years (1786-1818), besides holding other offices like the rest of the group.

Another group of leaders in the church was composed of members of the Beers and Ives families, connected similarly by family and professional ties. In this case interests were scientific. Three generations in each family were in the church, and in the second

generation in New Haven of the Ives family and the third of the Beers family they were united in 1805 by the marriage of Maria Beers and Eli Ives. The ancestor of the Ives family was already in Quinnipiac in 1639, but the immediate connection with this church was through Dr. Levi Ives who came from North Haven in 1773. The first of the Beers family was Nathan, who came in 1754 in order to join the White Haven Church.

From the time of the arrival of Dr. Levi Ives there was for years a Dr. Ives in town, and also for years some member of the family was on the college faculty. Levi Ives (1750-1826) the first, the son of a small farmer in North Haven, was in business in Derby before he came to New Haven. An enthusiastic supporter of the Revolution from the beginning, he was on the Committee of Inspection in 1774, and was one of those who opposed the British at Milford Hill at the time of the invasion in 1779. After serving through the Revolution, he took part in public life in the city. He was appointed on committees, was selectman from 1787 for six years, councilman in the following year, and Justice of the Peace.

He joined the Fair Haven Church in 1773, married for his second wife Margaret Bird, daughter of the former pastor of the White Haven Church. He became deacon of the newly united church in 1796, an office which he held for thirty years until his death. He was on the first Prudential Committee of the United Society. At times he was somewhat tumultuous in church meetings, at one time even to the point, said the records, of approaching another member as if to shake his fist in his face. He had various disagreements over church matters with his pastor, Mr. Merwin, near whom he lived on Broadway.

In politics he was an ardent Republican. The opening and closing lines of the so-called hymn, "Moll Carey," already quoted about Samuel Bishop, concerned Dr. Ives.

"Ye tribes of faction join.
Your daughters and your wives:
Moll Carey's come to dine
And dance with Deacon Ives."

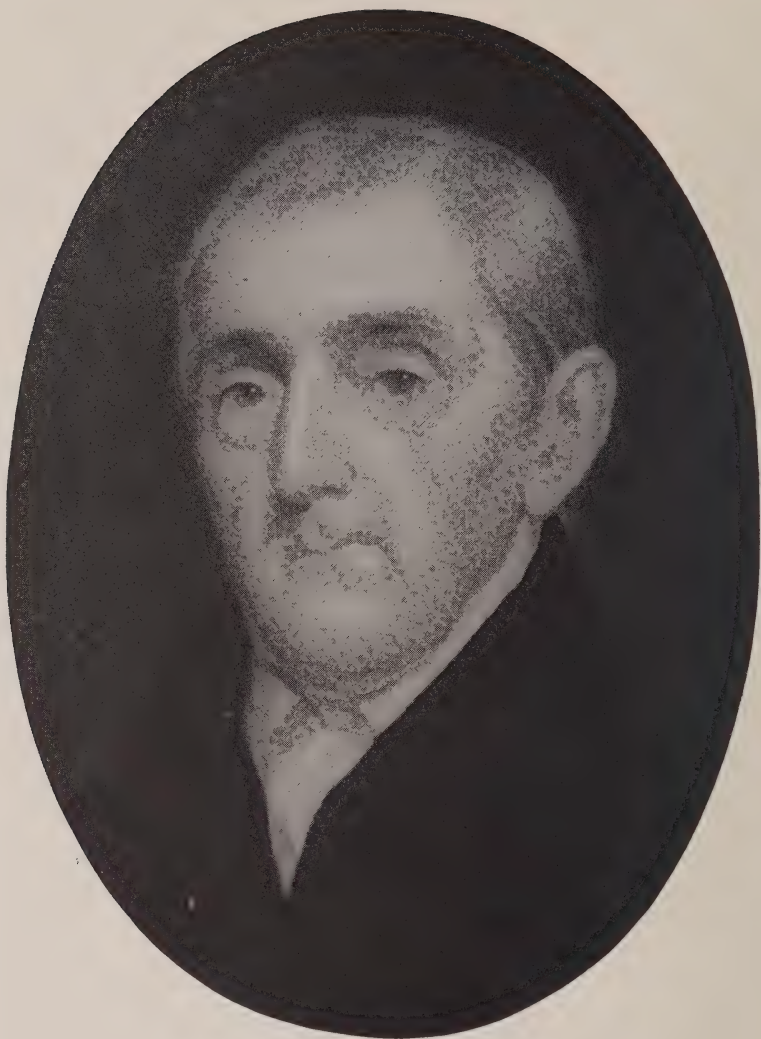
It should be said that neither the author of these verses nor the ones about Isaac Dickerman was a member of the church.

The Ives family representation in both church and medical practice was continued by the son, Eli, who became a member by

profession in 1808, and by the grandson, Levi, who joined in 1832. The latter lived until November, 1890, making a membership on his part of nearly sixty years, and of nearly one hundred twenty for the family. His pastor said of him, "His natural character and his Christian faith were so kindred to each other, and so blended that it is not easy to attribute his beautiful life of professional service and his character to one rather than to the other."

Through the marriage of Dr. Eli Ives and Maria Beers the connection of the Ives family is made with one that had been in the church twenty years longer, that of Nathan Beers and his wife, Hannah, who joined the White Haven Church in 1756. A son, Nathan, Jr. (1753-1849), followed them in the church. The father had again demonstrated his New Light beliefs by sending him to be taught by the New Light minister of North Haven, the Rev. Benjamin Trumbull, who always regarded him with great affection. Instead of being sent to college he was taught his father's trade, that of tailor, because it was thought he would be more pious and moral in that occupation than as a student. He spent a short time in New York as clerk for a large firm.

Nathan, Jr., was one of the young men who formed the Second Company of the Governor's Foot Guards and went to Cambridge in April, 1775, after the Lexington Alarm. He served through the Revolution in various offices—Lieutenant, Captain, and since he was a good penman and accountant, as Paymaster from 1777 until after the army was disbanded. In this capacity he saw much of General Washington and was one of the officers to guard Major André. After the war he became a prosperous merchant and was councilman from 1790 to 1796. From 1798 until he resigned in 1819 he was Steward of Yale College. Though when he started in this office he had a property of \$30,000, large for those days, he became poor largely through extending credit to students. Many years later, when he received back pension for his military services, he was able to pay all his debts. The existence of these had been a great trial to his honorable and conscientious nature. After resigning as Steward he became a gardener and nurseryman, one of the earliest men in New Haven to become a horticulturist. This was not an entirely new thing for him, for at the age of twenty he had gone to Madeira and brought home several kinds of grapes for the gardens of his father and several other people. It



Courtesy New Haven Colony Historical Society

NATHAN BEERS

was fitting that the large elm tree on Grove Street at Hillhouse Avenue near his home should long have been known as the Beers Elm. He was one of the few men in New Haven who continued for many years to wear knee breeches tied with a neat black ribbon. His contemporary, David Daggett, was the last man in town to wear top boots with colored leather tops, but Simeon Baldwin gave up these styles earlier, together with the queue, when the adoption of high coat collars made the "pig-tail" stick out horizontally. His conservatism in dress was shown in another way, by his ruffled shirts.

Nathan Beers did not unite with the church until 1794, when he was forty-two years old. This delay in one who was always upright and pious was the result of the training of his father, his teacher, Dr. Trumbull, and his pastor, Dr. Edwards, who all held the view that a person must have a definite religious experience before joining the church. Mr. Beers could point to no such experience. It is interesting that a son, Timothy Phelps Beers, asked to have the watch and care of the church withdrawn from him because he did not consider himself an experimental Christian and therefore could not conscientiously partake of the Lord's Supper. This was done (1853). Still later (1877) a man asked to have his name taken from the rolls, as he did not consider himself a Christian. A similar example occurred in the Third Church in 1845.

In 1804 Nathan Beers was elected deacon and served the church until prevented by the infirmities of extreme old age. President Dwight called him "an honest man and a perfect gentleman." He was stately and dignified in appearance. His portrait painted by a fellow deacon, Nathaniel Jocelyn, is in the building of the New Haven Colony Historical Society. A portrait of the son, Timothy, by the same artist is in the Medical School.

The interwoven relationships of members of the church were as close in these days as in the days of 1742. It has already been said that the daughter of Nathan Beers married Dr. Eli Ives. Through his sisters there were further interrelations. One married the nephew of James Pierpont; one of their daughters married Eleazar Foster, a prominent lawyer, a member of the church, tything man, chorister, committee member and chairman of the committee of contractors for the present church building. Her sister married for her second husband, Claudius Herrick, called

by Mr. Merwin, "the enlightened, wise and devout Herrick." Graduate of Yale, former minister in Woodbridge, he came to New Haven in 1807, leased the Greenough House where Samuel Mix, schoolmaster, had formerly lived, and in 1808 opened one of the earliest schools for young ladies in the country. About one third of the young ladies taught here were converted, mostly through his efforts. He spent much time in unofficial pastoral work among the sick and afflicted. Encouraged by James Brewster, another member of the church, he taught the Bible on Sundays to the children at the almshouse. His youngest son, Edward C. Herrick, after a short time in business, became librarian and treasurer of Yale. He was for some time clerk of the church, and his clear penmanship and business-like reports are a pleasure to behold. George Beckwith, publisher of the almanac and a somewhat critical person, called him "a modest, noble, erudite, incorruptible man."

Another sister of Deacon Beers married for her second husband Capt. Elias Stilwell, one of the first persons admitted to the church after the union of 1796. According to a memoir prepared by his step-grandsons John Collis and Amos Townsend, Jr., Captain Stilwell was "one of the original founders of the Second Company of the Foot Guards, a captain in the Continental Army through the war of the Revolution, and fifty-four years a resident of New Haven; a teacher, a gentleman and a Christian." He was born in New York in 1747, came to New Haven in 1770, and made it his home until he died in 1824. For some years after his return from the war he kept a school for young men. He was skilled in mathematics and navigation, and had a large library, principally on religious and theological subjects. After he stopped teaching he devoted himself to cultivating fruits, like his friend and brother-in-law, Deacon Beers. He joined the church in 1797 by letter from a church in New York.

Representative of a still older family, both in the church and in town, was Lemuel G. Punderson, whose life covered much of the century. He was born in 1824 a descendant of John Punderson, one of the "Seven Pillars" who formed the first church organization in New Haven. He joined the church by profession in 1849, was made deacon in 1858, serving until 1904, was clerk of the church from January, 1866 to April, 1880 and was interested in the Mission Sunday School. His extreme deafness

in later years prevented much activity. He died in 1910. He was a lithographer and printer.

Unlike Mr. Beers and Mr. Punderson, some of the deacons serving during this period had names that were new both to the church and to the town. Many of them were "the respectable merchants and businessmen" mentioned by Mr. Merwin as coming into the church. One of the most active for a number of years was Charles Bostwick. The first of several generations of saddle and harness makers, he began advertising in the New Haven papers late in 1794. He joined the church in 1808 at the age of thirty-six, and six years later was made deacon, remaining in that office until his death in 1850. He had already been serving on committees of the church, several times on the Prudential Committee, later on the committee to investigate and prepare cases of discipline, and on the visiting committee. The church has a memento of him in the little trunk bought from him in which to keep its records. When this trunk needed repairs a few years ago, they were made by Leonard Bostwick, a member of the same family, carrying on the same trade. In 1819 Mr. Charles Bostwick defeated his fellow deacon, Dr. Ives, for the office of representative. He also served as councilman several times. His son left the church to help form the Third Church in 1826.

Other business men who became deacons were William S. Jarman, already mentioned, who was deacon from 1826 to 1847; Sherman Blair, elected 1834, resigned 1838, who began business about 1810 or 1812, and within ten years was the leading man in New Haven in the furniture business. A prominent builder, devout member of the church, and deacon for many years after 1850 was Atwater Treat, lineal descendant of Robert Treat. He was born in Milford in 1807 and when he was about seventeen came to New Haven to learn his trade from James Chaplin, the college carpenter. Perhaps he came into the church through Mrs. Chaplin, a member. Atwater Treat became a leading man in his profession, erecting many buildings such as Alumni Hall, the Divinity School buildings, the Art Gallery, and the Woolsey house on Church Street. Converted in 1821, he joined the church in the same year, at the time when one hundred became members. He was prominent in the activities of the church, as has already been mentioned, especially in the Mission Sunday School on Dixwell Avenue. His interest in foreign missions also has already

been mentioned. For nearly twenty years he was trustee of the Orphan Asylum. His pastor said, "His heart went out towards the neglected, towards those who would not come voluntarily under religious influence. In company with others he went to them, organizing meetings for prayer in the remoter parts of the city, and even in adjacent towns." He supported the church in all good works, serving as treasurer for many years (1858-1881) as well as deacon. His death in 1882 with the loss of his influence and support, was a contributing cause to the decline of the church in the years immediately following.

Another business man with similar zeal and interest in the church was Sherman Knevals (1800-1863). His ancestry goes back to the Revolution, but introduces a new element in the church. His father was a Hessian who escaped from the army and went through the woods to North Haven, later coming to New Haven. Sherman Knevals was converted in the revival of 1831 and was one of the large company joining the church in June of that year. He was especially interested in the work of the Sunday School, and was connected with it for more than thirty years, both as teacher and superintendent. For fifteen years he conducted a Bible class at the jail every Sunday noon. In 1853 he was made deacon, and as his pastor said at his funeral, he had been "an office bearer now for many years in this church." He was a merchant tailor, the sign of Knevals and Hull showing in the pictures of the building on Chapel Street in which the Post Office was located in 1854. He was alderman for two years (1855-1857), and was one of the incorporators of the New Haven Savings Bank in 1838 and of the Connecticut Savings Bank in 1857.

One of the best known deacons was Nathaniel Jocelyn (1798-1881) "a genius and much loved gentleman." He joined the church in 1820 and was made deacon in 1834, with Isaac Thomson, Amasa Porter, and John Merriman. He served on many committees of the church and his interest in the colored race and his connection with the Amistad case have already been mentioned. Besides his work as an artist, he taught painting, one of his pupils being John Durrie, alderman, councilman, deacon of the church 1847-1857, and treasurer 1853-1857. Another pupil was his brother, George Durrie, painter of the country scenes so much admired today. Jocelyn was also an engraver of maps and bank notes. In 1835 he and his brother Simeon undertook a large

transaction in real estate. They bought a tract of land near Grand Avenue, through which they opened streets and they extended Hamilton, Wallace, and East Streets north of that thoroughfare. The plans of four hundred building lots were made into a handsome map, the brother advertised an auction sale in the New York papers and chartered a steam boat on which free passage was given to all who might wish to come. The venture was not a financial success.

It was typical of similar enterprises taking place about this time, in one of which another member of the church, Sidney M. Stone, was more fortunate. He bought a pasture lot between Olive and Bradley Streets through which he opened Lyon Street with building lots on each side. The region was known as Stoneville. Isaac Thomson, builder of the State House and the Yale Library, another deacon, joined the Jocelyns in other real estate transactions. A contemporary says of these men and of Sidney Hull, another member of the church, that they "true hearted, public spirited philanthropists, every one united in the endeavor to remove a plague spot from Mount Pleasant by the purchase of land and the layout of the Spireworth Park, between Portsea and Carlisle Streets." Isaac Thomson and Simeon Jocelyn gave a school for colored children, the Spireworth or Mount Pleasant School, which probably remained open through the forties.

Among the men coming to New Haven and taking a leading part in its business life was another member of the church, James Brewster, whose name has been mentioned in connection with various charitable enterprises. He was a mechanic and later a carriage manufacturer who lived from 1788 to 1866. Though active in the church and supporting its work, he never became deacon or held any office such as clerk or treasurer. A native of Norwich he was apprenticed at the age of sixteen, after a common school education, to a leading carriage maker at Northampton. He settled in New Haven by the merest accident, due to an unexpected stop here on his way through. In 1810 he began business in a small shop at the corner of High and Elm Streets. He soon became very successful, and in addition to his carriage making was interested in several banks and the railroad. He also bought real estate, around East and Wooster Streets, opened Collis Street, and was interested in seeing that mechanics and working men had homes. He joined the church in 1825, having already

been connected with the society as tything man and as member of the society's committee. He also served for a short time as councilman and alderman. Besides his work for the welfare and education of working men, he is remembered for his interest in the Orphan Asylum, and his generous contributions to its support. In return for its old building he gave the Asylum four acres of land and a new building. The architect, Sidney M. Stone, a member of the church, gave his services in planning the building and acted as trustee for about twenty years.

An interesting member of the church, connecting it once more with events outside its own immediate activities was Charles B. Lines. He is described as a specialist in "the making of furniture, horticulture and temperance oratory," and is said to have been a natural, earnest speaker. He was born in New Haven in 1807. At the age of fourteen he was apprenticed to Sherman Blair to learn, as he said, "the art, trade and mystery of cabinet making." For a short time before starting his apprenticeship he was a sailor on a revenue cutter with headquarters at New Haven. He was undertaker also, and performed that service for David Daggett and Simeon Baldwin. He worked for several persons until he bought a business for himself with the help of James Brewster. He joined the church in 1823 and was an active and vigorous member. He was one of a dozen young men who started the first temperance society in the city, the "Boy's Temperance Society," of which he was secretary. This was a reform to which he was devoted, and there was in existence a little worn pledge book, in which were the names of twenty-six drunkards whom he reclaimed. His activity in the cause led to his election to the Legislature where he carried on the work. He helped Mr. Dutton on other reforms such as the care of the insane.

The great cause, however, which is particularly associated with his name, is free soil. When emigration colonies were formed to settle in Kansas and save it for freedom, Mr. Lines became leader of a band of nearly one hundred persons, many of them members of the North Church. They were furnished with Bibles and rifles at a meeting held in the North Church.² The colony settled at Wabaunsee with Mr. Lines acting as agent and correspondent of several newspapers interested in the same cause.

² See p. 98.

He spent the rest of his life in Kansas, and was receiver of the land office at Topeka and pension agent. He died in 1889.

One of the military funerals held in the North Church was that of his son, Capt. E. S. Lines, who fell in battle in Kansas in 1863. The funeral was held in March 1864, a few days more than eight years from the time of the farewell service for the Kansas band. The New Haven Grays, of which Captain Lines had been a member, attended in a body.

From the time he joined the church until he went to Kansas, a period of nearly a quarter of a century, Mr. Lines was active in its affairs. He worked in the Sunday School, and served on many committees, especially on those organized to investigate cases of discipline. His activity here was particularly great because many of the complaints brought before the church were for intemperance.

Another of the men joining late in life was Titus Street, who became a member in 1840, two years before his death at the age of eighty-two. He came from Wallingford and in 1784 started a small general store which later became Bassett's. He himself retired from business several years before his death, as one of the three wealthiest men in town. He had some early connection with the United Society as one of those who pledged additional money in 1795 for Mr. Gemmil, if he should become minister of the church. His son, partly at least, at the suggestion of Nathaniel Jocelyn, gave the money for the first Art School building. Other men who made contributions to the life of the church in this century were many. Of those who might be mentioned individually, was John G. North, who founded the North Insurance Agency. He was especially interested in the welfare of children and was for years superintendent of the Mission School on Dixwell Avenue. He was also interested in temperance and in the position of the negro inhabitants of New Haven. In 1849 when the church for colored people was in financial difficulties, he practically saved it with his own money.

In the Third Church, besides those named elsewhere as holders of offices in its organization, mention should be made of Matthew Griswold Elliott, descendant of John Eliot, apostle to the Indians, and of Jared Eliot, famous divine and scholar, and named for his great-uncle, Gov. Matthew Griswold. A native of Kent, he came to New Haven at the age of eighteen in 1823. Beginning as clerk

in a wholesale grocery store on Custom House Square, he rose to be partner in a large and prosperous firm. He was in public life as Councilman, Alderman, and First Selectman, and in the latter office was in charge of replacing the old Almshouse with a new one. In business he was connected with the Farmington Canal, with the railroad, with the Tradesmen's Bank as president, and with the New Haven Savings Bank as vice-president and director. Like men of the North Church, he bought and sold land in different parts of the city, improving it, as was said, for the benefit of himself and the public. He built more than a hundred private houses, if not twice that number. In the Third Church one of his greatest services was work he did as chairman of the building committee, in charge of erecting the third house of worship. The records say, "to this gentleman we are mainly indebted under God for the brilliant success which has attended our undertaking. All that native sagacity and energy, cultivated by large experience in the walks of business, which have so honorably distinguished him in this community, were brought to bear with happy effect on the difficult task entrusted to his hands."

Another member of the Third Church who was prominent in public life was Dennis Kimberley, Yale graduate, lawyer, mayor, major general in the military forces of the state, and State's Attorney for New Haven County.

These names by no means include all that might be mentioned individually if space permitted. Many appear in the appended lists of deacons and officers of this church and later of the United Church.

CHAPTER XXII

MEN OF THE UNITED CHURCH

It has been told in another connection how soon and how completely a real union of the Third and North Churches was brought about. It was not long before it was an academic question whether a person came from the North Church or the Third. An illustration of the way in which the merging was accomplished is the procedure followed after the union with relation to the two Boards of Deacons. It was arranged that all the deacons from both churches should resign and a new board be chosen by lot from the combined number, with a plan for successive retirement and replacement of members that would within a few years bring all into office. By that time no perceptible difference existed between the original churches.

The senior deacon was Samuel G. Thorne of the Third Church. He had been a member of the church since December 1856, deacon since 1857, had served on the Standing Committee, and had acted as treasurer of the church. He immediately took an active part in the work and life of the United Church, and in a report made a year or two after the union gave witness to the fact that the people were rapidly becoming united, in fact even more rapidly than could have been expected. Another deacon from that church, who had served for many years as clerk, and whose family is still represented in the membership of the church was Edwin B. Bowditch, a prominent merchant. He joined the church in 1858, was made deacon in 1865, and he too entered actively into the life of the United Church. Others were Henry W. Thomson, Newton W. Perkins, and Ralph J. Miner who had all been officeholders and deacons.

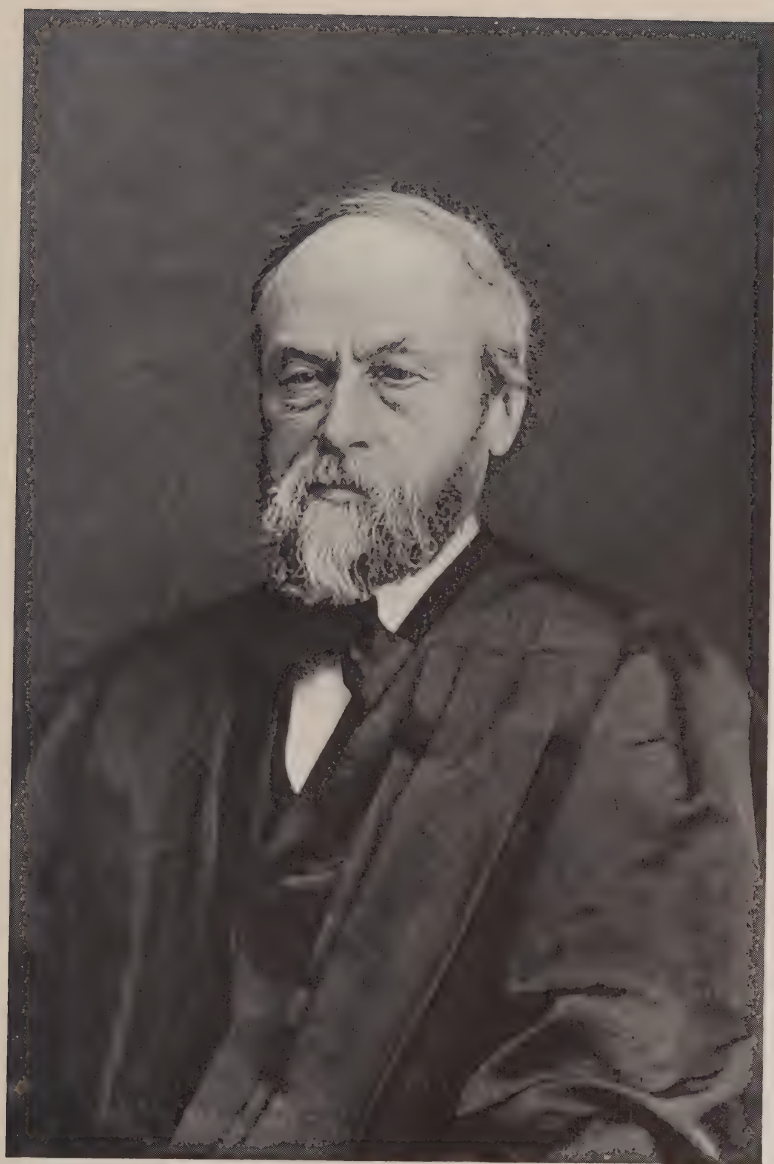
The membership continued to be as representative as that of the churches of which it was composed. Business men, lawyers, physicians, and teachers made up its numbers as before. But with few exceptions, such as Simeon E. Baldwin and Livingston W. Cleaveland, men of this period were not as prominent in public life and as holders of public office as had been their predecessors

in earlier years. Their interests were in other directions. This change was well begun by the time of the union of 1884.

It is more than coincidence that the most notable example of public service and political prominence should be that of Simeon E. Baldwin, who carried forward in the third generation a history of family service in the realm of politics as well as in the church. His life and the lives of his immediate ancestors, covering a century and a half, include the closing years of the White Haven Church, the entire life of the North Church, and half that of the United Church. Their records are preserved in tablets on the walls of the present building.

Simeon E. Baldwin (1840-1927) was governor of Connecticut for two terms, a position held by his father; he was judge in the courts of the state, as his grandfather had been; he was a member of the faculty of Yale, as his grandfather also had been for a short time. In many ways an account of his life and the public offices and positions of trust he filled would be a repetition of the story of the lives of his ancestors, and it should not be forgotten that among them was Roger Sherman. To their achievements he added that of author of legal and historical articles and books. The list of academic honors bestowed on him is as impressive as the list of his accomplishments. He was given honorary degrees by Yale, Harvard, Columbia, and Wesleyan, and he belonged to many learned societies, both in this country and abroad.

He joined the North Church in August, 1863, by letter from the church in Yale College, and soon his name appears in the records in various capacities. Though he did not take office, such as deacon, clerk, or treasurer, as others did, his services and contributions to the church were continuous and distinguished. Besides work on committees, he could be relied on in situations requiring legal advice or financial help. Choice of ministers, decisions of policy, such as revision of the creed, care and improvement of church property—all received his attention and assistance. He is remembered every communion Sunday in the use of the individual cups which he presented. Another visible memorial, the tablet in the church building, fittingly sums up his career and services in the following words: "Faithful in all the duties of citizenship, he rendered more illustrious a line of illustrious ancestors."



SIMEON E. BALDWIN

Livingston W. Cleaveland (1860-1929) also through his ancestry and family connections reached back as far as the White Haven Church. Simeon Jocelyn, his great-grandfather, joined that church in 1780; his great-uncle, Simeon, was a member of the North Church and one of the founders of the Third Church; and his grandfather, Nathaniel, was deacon in the North Church for fifty years. Mr. Cleaveland was a member of the church for about the same length of time, having joined it in 1880. His father was a clergyman and his mother the author of many poems, including the famous "No Sects in Heaven." He was taught by private tutors and after being graduated from the Yale Law School was admitted to the bar in 1881. In 1888 he received the degree of Master of Laws from Yale. He served two years in the city council, and from 1894 was Judge of Probate for twelve years. In 1900 and in 1902 he was mentioned as candidate for governor of the state. In 1915, with two other persons, he published "Probate Law and Practice in Connecticut."

In the office of Judge of Probate he maintained a sympathetic attitude towards those who came into his court which did much to bring about his long continuance in office. That he should devote time and effort to the welfare of the colored people of New Haven was almost inevitable from his family heritage. The establishment of the first church for members of that race in New Haven, and of the Spireworth School by his grandfather and great-uncle have been mentioned, as well as their activity in the Amistad case. His mother taught in a Sunday School for colored children. He continued the family tradition by acting for forty years as superintendent of a Sunday School at English Hall, and later at the City Mission, in which a large number of the pupils were colored children. He not only worked for them in the school, but helped them in their homes.

When Mr. Cleaveland requested to be retired from the office of deacon at the annual meeting in 1929 because of ill health, the appreciation of the church for his services in that office were shown by the creation of the office of Honorary Deacon.

In the years from 1865 to 1870 several men joined the North Church who, though not related as some of the earlier groups had been, were to be as closely associated for many years in friendship as well as in public service and in the work of the United Church. Their services began before 1884, but they

were among the men who carried on the work of the church after the union. In July, 1865, Richard E. Rice came into the church; a year later John A. Richardson and Charles E. P. Sanford; in April, 1867, Albert S. Holt; in January, 1868, William J. Weld; and in October, Walter B. Law and Frederick E. Hartshorn. It is an interesting fact that only one of these men, Mr. Sanford, was born in New Haven. For a long time they were the ones on whom the church called to be its deacons, clerks, treasurers, and committee members. An account of the positions held by them for the rest of their lives will show the extent of their influence and services. It happens that they were all business men, several of them dealing in lumber, just as many of the men in the preceding period had been builders and dealers in real estate.

Richard E. Rice (1816-1897) was born in Winthrop, Connecticut. He joined the North Church by letter from a church in Stamford and was a wise and faithful member for nearly thirty-two years. In that time he was deacon for twenty-four years, from 1873; clerk of the church from 1880 to 1885; treasurer from 1882 until his death, holding both offices simultaneously for several years.

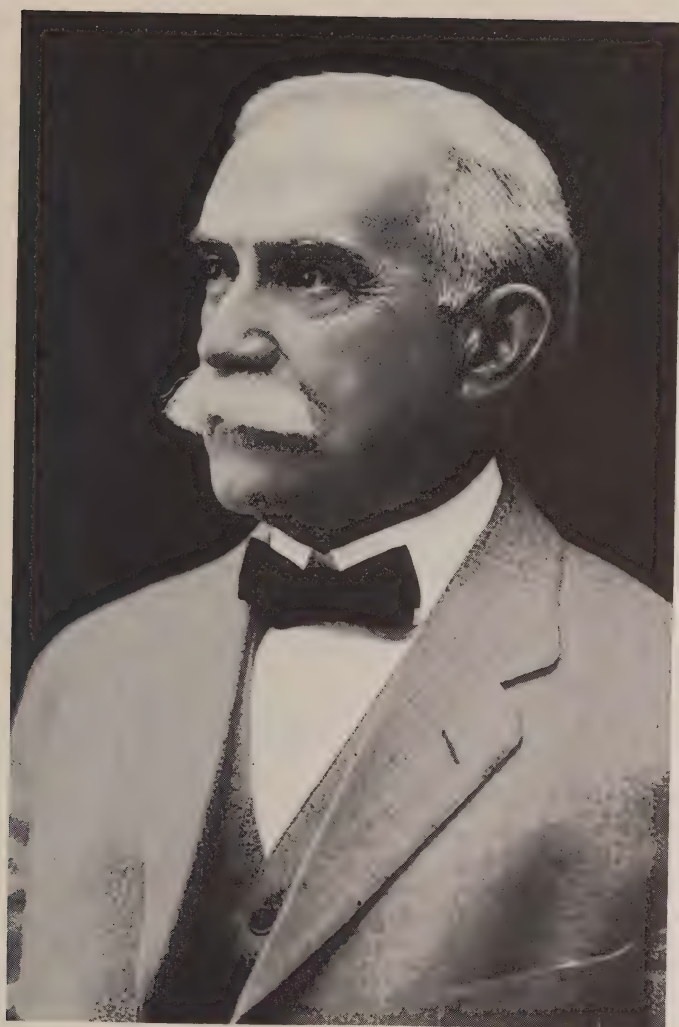
Walter Booth Law (1842-1922) was born in Middlebury, Connecticut. He joined the church by profession in 1868 and was made deacon in 1876. He became church treasurer in 1897 and remained in both offices until his death. He was a member of the society's committee for thirty-two years and chairman twenty-two years. Such a service speaks for itself, but he was also a strong supporter of the prayer meetings, and his reports on the state of religion in the church show humor as well as piety and loyalty to the church. His business was as member of the firm of Booth and Law, dealers in painters' supplies. He is still represented in the church by his daughter, Miss Grace E. Law, and in the society, by his son, J. Harold Law.

In the office of treasurer of the society from 1867 to 1909 was George W. Curtis. Born in Torrington, Connecticut, he came to New Haven in 1866 as cashier of the City Bank, and was its president from 1875 to 1909. He connected himself with the North Church soon after coming to the city. Mrs. Curtis for twenty years conducted a large Bible class for women which met in the church on Sundays after the morning service.

William J. Weld (1847-1928) was born in Seekonk, N. Y. He came to New Haven where he and his father were in the insurance business. Both joined in the work of the church, the son as deacon for forty-six years from 1881. He was active as leader for thirty years in the City Missionary Association and for eighteen years as secretary of the Congregational Club. Beginning in 1881 he had charge of renting the pews until the system of free pews was introduced. Resolutions passed by the church at the time of his death said, "As a minister of the material aid and spiritual comfort of the church to its needy members he rendered an especially gracious service. His gift in prayer, his wise counsel, his good cheer, and the consistent witness of his Christian life are a part of the spiritual heritage of the church."

Frederick E. Hartshorn (1846-1930) was born in Swansville, Maine. He joined the North Church by profession in 1868, but early in 1870 was dismissed to the church in Westville. About two years later he returned to Maine, where he was instrumental in organizing a church at Ellsworth Falls, of which he was elected deacon in 1876. From Maine he went to Colorado Springs, where he was deacon of the First Congregational Church. In 1895 he returned to New Haven, joined the church by letter from Colorado Springs, and was elected deacon of the United Church in 1898. He was superintendent of the Sunday School, treasurer of the society and of various separate funds and served ten years on the society's committee. The church records say, among other tributes to his memory, "He received the funds when they were in a depreciated condition, but by good management and careful investment he delivered them to his successor in much better condition than that in which he received them." In the work of the church he was especially interested in the Sunday School, the benevolent organizations, and the diaconate. In Maine he was associated with his father in the lumber business, and was in similar business in New Haven.

Charles E. P. Sanford (1849-1930) was born in New Haven and baptized by Mr. Dutton. The connection of his family with the church covers a long period. As clerk of the church he wrote in the records at the time of the baptism of a grandson that his ancestor, Elihu Sanford, was baptized by the Rev. Mr. Street of East Haven in 1773 in the Blue meeting-house. His daughters were baptized by Mr. Hawes and his own activities covered the



CHARLES E. P. SANFORD

pastorates of the last two ministers of the North Church and those of all the ministers of the United Church.

Mr. Sanford held several offices in the church and society, and served in many unofficial ways, but that for which he is best remembered and for which he made for himself not only a leading place in the history of this church but also a reputation outside is that of clerk of both church and society. He was called "one of the most notable figures in Connecticut Congregationalism." Under his management the office of clerk became the most important in the church next to that of the pastor, and under him achieved a high standard of efficiency. In connection with it he collected and kept many papers, letters and pamphlets having to do with the history of the church, and other things of interest, such as a piece of the pulpit railing of the White Haven meeting-house rescued from a house in process of demolition. Not only was he so familiar with the church history as to be an authority, but he also interpreted his office to mean acquaintance with the members of the church of his own day, and to include friendship as well as the acquisition of formal facts. He knew them, their families, their needs, even their birthdays. As a member said recently, "If Mr. Sanford had been alive, I would have had a birthday message from the church." The church records say, "His inclusive and astonishingly exact knowledge of our history and membership has become a tradition with us. With this knowledge went innumerable kindly personal ministries and a constant concern for all that related to the welfare of the church."

In terms of years his record of service is one of the longest. He was a member sixty-five years, deacon more than thirty years, clerk of the society's committee twelve years, clerk of the church twenty-nine years, and clerk of the society forty-three years, a record which fulfilled his ambition of exceeding that of Samuel Bishop of the White Haven and North Churches. The resolutions passed soon after his death sum up his services and express the appreciation and affection of the church. "When Charles E. P. Sanford died on January 7, 1931, in his eighty-second year, United Church lost its most distinctive member. . . . He brought insight, candor and humor to our counsels with wise judgment and constructive helpfulness in the problems and tasks of our common life. His interest in the questions of religious thought strength-

ened a faith that was intelligent, simple, and profound, expressed in an unostentatious piety. His presence among us meant loyalty, sympathy, hope, and good cheer, and now rests upon us as a benediction from the world of light."

A beautiful and gracious way in which he will be remembered every year came as a result of the love of the church for him and his own thoughtfulness. The Eighth of April Fund was started by a small sum presented him from money left from the expenses of a church party given as a joint celebration of his seventy-fifth birthday and the fiftieth anniversary of his marriage. He returned the money with the suggestion that it be used for flowers in the church. The Prudential Committee and the Board of Deacons voted to leave it untouched until it should reach the sum of \$100, when the income should be used for flowers in the church on the anniversary of his birth. His family, whose first recorded connection with the church was in 1773, is represented today by two daughters and a son.

The preceding clerk of the church, Henry E. Pardee, who served in that capacity from 1875 to 1884 began the process of arranging the records, made abstracts from the records of the First Church and the town concerning the history of this church and prepared a history of the society. This was presented in 1879 and printed in 1892.

Albert S. Holt, who died in 1934 at the age of nearly ninety-five years was a descendant of William Holt, one of the original settlers of the New Haven Colony. He was born in Flemington, N. J. In New Haven he was in the lumber business, as was Mr. Sanford, and was also a trustee of the Connecticut Savings Bank. His wife was the daughter of a member of the church, Sidney M. Stone, the architect. Mr. Holt's life in the church covered the years from 1867 to 1934. He was deacon from 1876 until January, 1933, when he was made honorary deacon, having been able to serve at communion until well past his ninetieth year. For thirty-six years he was on the society's committee, for five years as chairman. He also served for a time as superintendent of the Sunday School. When he retired from active service as deacon the following statement was placed on the church records: "Deacon Holt is the last of a noteworthy group of men whose long service in the diaconate is one of our most precious treasures.

For more than two generations his interest, thoughtfulness, and unfeigned piety have witnessed to his devotion to the things of Christ and his loyalty to the church."

Other men made similar notable contributions to the life of the church—among the deacons Newton W. Perkins, Samuel D. Gilbert, John A. Richardson, Alfred B. Miller and Moses H. Lewis, to name a few. One who also served as chairman of important committees, especially in connection with the choice of ministers, in which he did an enormous amount of work, was Lewis S. Welch. Others served the church in different ways—men like Andrew W. DeForest and William A. Ives in the earlier years—to mention by name only two of many that should be given if space permitted.

"The story of this organization since it became the United Church," say the records, "is in no small part the story of a group of unusual men . . . who have been faithful and strong and loyal in all kinds of weather and who have made possible an acknowledged standard of mind and spirit, whose influence has not only worked to the well being of its members in a measure hard to over estimate, but has also acquired a real and high influence in its community and in the larger world beyond." These words apply equally to the men, and women too, of the White Haven, Fair Haven, and Third Churches.

It may have seemed straying far afield to consider the activities in which members of the church were engaged outside its walls. But only so is it possible to see what kind of men were drawn to this church, and what they did to apply its teachings to their duties and responsibilities in daily life. On the other hand, the character of the church and the extent of its influence are determined by the character of the people in the pews as well as by that of the ministers in the pulpit. And from the history of this church it might be added that only as the two supplement each other can they work together with the best results.

Early in this century many younger men were coming forward to take the places of these standard bearers as it became necessary. But the story of their work belongs, as does that of the minister, to the church of the present and the future. They are the inheritors of its past; they are the molders of its future. It will be said of them as one minister spoke to the men of his

day: "From generation to generation, for upwards of two centuries, you have taken up the sacred trust, and in your time and light were loyal to the larger truth. It is a record that should thrill and hold you, a heritage of honor and high worth. Noble traditions are not to be held lightly, but they are to be hallowed by new heroisms of toil, and sacrifices of personal interests. It is our history that makes our opportunity. For five generations the tendencies that are maturing today have been unfolding."

CHAPTER XXIII

A FREE CHURCH

The constitution or Articles of Agreement drawn up and adopted in 1796 stated in the first sentence that "This church is free and independent." Preceding chapters have shown how the church made that statement true in many of the ways later understood by the word "free." It changed from support by payment of taxes imposed by authority of the state to support by payment of pledges freely made; it changed from seats owned as private property to pews free to every one; it enlarged its voting privileges to include women as well as men, thus giving them the liberty both to express their opinions and to act upon them; it stated that the minister should have freedom of speech in the pulpit. And at the beginning of the present century it secured a deeper freedom for its members—freedom of belief—that is, freedom from the necessity of subscribing to a creed as a condition of membership. No longer were men to be disciplined or kept out of the church because of variations of theological opinions.

Just as those who formed the church in 1742 went back to the earliest idea that a church is a spontaneous organization for spiritual ends, so in this matter it followed a first principle of Congregationalism, that a church is a body of men joined together, not under a creed, but in a covenant, agreement, or promise to walk together in obedience to divine law, and in Christian fellowship and usefulness. The covenant could be altered, for the agreement, not its form, was important. In early days in Connecticut, there was a general uniformity of belief. But the disagreements and theological discussions following the Great Awakening and the division of the people into Old and New Lights and Old and New Divinity, led the men in control of the churches to formulate statements of belief, to which people must subscribe before being accepted as members.

Originally each candidate for admission to a particular church was subjected to private tests, both personal and doctrinal, as to his fitness for membership and then made his own statement of

belief and religious experience. This was merely declaratory, a statement or testimony, and might be oral or written. It was presented to the church as a whole, and was voted on. A specific example of the custom has already been given in another connection. When John Prout, who later became one of the first members of the White Haven Church, joined the First Church in 1716, he prepared such a statement for himself, which was also used by the others joining at the same time. By the latter part of the eighteenth century the custom of giving individual public "relations," as they were called, had been dropped, and after the candidate had been examined by officials of the church, and had given satisfaction, he assented publicly to a statement, or report brought to the church by the officials. All sorts of local variations were introduced into these statements, and in extreme cases a whole system of theology. They became tests or conditions of membership, barriers, and not declarations of belief in the Bible and its truths, and testimonies of repentance made by the candidates as part of the evidence of their fitness to become members.

The fact that the Congregational Church as a whole had no standing doctrine of faith, and that each church was formed by members joining under a covenant, did not mean, as has been said, that there was no agreement as to belief. When the White Haven Church was organized in 1742, the members subscribed to the doctrine of faith used by the First Church. In 1758, feeling that it was "misrepresented, reproached and villified as though not sound and Orthodox in the faith," the church had a meeting to set itself right. The Westminster Catechism, the Cambridge Platform, and the Saybrook Platform were read and carefully examined. The church then declared its subscription to those documents. The Articles of Faith were changed two or three times later, in the direction of simplicity, clearness, and explicitness. In 1867, finally, the North Church, stating the importance not only of a profession of faith for individuals to assent to on admission, but a full creed, "which we can point to as the creed of our church," appointed a committee to revise the Articles of Faith and the form of admission of members. It consisted of the pastor, the deacons, and three members, one of whom was Simeon E. Baldwin. At the same time alterations were made in the rules of the church for the conduct of business.

An influence which led ultimately to the abandonment of any statement of belief was the growth of the "simple but revolutionary idea" that children born in the church should be regarded as part of it, and since they were brought up under Christian influence, should come naturally at the proper time into sharing its life. It seemed unreasonable and unnecessary to expect young persons to understand or assent to statements of doctrines on which trained theologians differed. Many older persons, too, who wished to join the church were prevented by the impossibility of subscribing to a particular theological statement. Later this assent came to be so much a formality that towards the end of the nineteenth century no such statement was printed in the catalogue, or acquaintance with it required from candidates for membership. In January, 1900, at the annual meeting, the church began measures to remedy the situation, and appointed a committee of nine men to "consider the advisability of revising the creed of the church." Again one of the men was Simeon E. Baldwin. Feeling the great importance of the matter, the committee took time to study it, and made no report until June, 1902. After examining into the history of the subject, its conclusion was that since the constitution of the church has no metaphysical definitions but is expressed in such "simple and catholic terms" that "no exception can be taken by those of any theological school of thought," that the church should "dispense with any formal statement of our own as the doctrines of dogmatic theology." It presented a more scriptural form to be used at the admission of members.

In the church Year Book for 1903 is printed the following statement by the minister, Mr. Haynes, on the adoption by the church of this report and its significance. "By vote of the church it has been decided not to insist on creedal requirements for membership. In doing this we have brought ourselves into line with the fundamental principle of Congregationalism. . . . The genius of our system is such as carefully to guard the right of private judgment. The cultivation of the religious life is the surest way of securing doctrinal purity. Congregationalists have never established a Standard of Doctrine to which individual ministers and churches are bound to conform. . . . Those who are acquainted with the history of American Congregationalism understand the origin of this custom of requiring members to conform to certain doctrinal tenets . . . this was an unfortunate chapter

in our history." The covenant, he said, provides for allegiance to Jesus Christ. How it is to be interpreted is a matter for the private conscience.

Why the church was ready to adopt such a recommendation can be understood from the nature of the preaching to which it has been listening in the nineteenth century. More and more it had departed from that which is speculative and dogmatic. The church was prepared to be, as Mr. Denison said in his farewell sermon, "the house of man, with doors barred by no narrow creed, no dead traditions, no formal rules." Or as Dr. Clapp expressed it in a recent sermon: "So Paul found this faith of his and he lived a lifetime of following after that he might find the fullness of Christ and be found in him. We were saying that that is part of the secret of a living faith, that it never becomes merely formalized, that it is never fully rounded and complete, that there is always in it the element of possible surprise, the presence of the unexpected, and that the glory of it is the glory of its incompleteness, the challenge to the greatest adventure for the human soul on its way through time toward the fullness of eternal things. So Paul found it. So we may find it."

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The principal sources used in preparing the History of the United Church are the unpublished records of the several churches of which it is composed. These include records of both the churches and ecclesiastical societies, with the exception of the Society of the Third Church. The records of the first years of the White Haven, Fair Haven, and Third Churches were made up by their first ministers and clerks, partly from loose notes. From that time they have been kept continuously. Access to the photostatic copies of the records of the First Church was also freely given. In addition there are manuscript sermons, reports, record books of various organizations within the church, and a great deal of miscellaneous material.

Contemporary material is found in the following books: George P. Fisher, *History of the Church of Christ in Yale College*, which gives extracts from diaries; Benjamin Trumbull, *History of Connecticut*; Stiles, *History of Three of the Judges of King Charles I; Literary Diary; Itineraries and Correspondence*.

Printed sources consist of church catalogues and year books, calendars, programs, prospectuses, and the published works and sermons of the ministers. The Rev. Samuel Merwin's Discourse delivered at the close of his fiftieth year in the ministry, contains information about his pastorate, as does that delivered by the Rev. Samuel W. S. Dutton at the close of twenty-five years of his pastorate. A history of the church was written by Mr. Dutton for its one hundredth anniversary, and for its 150th by Dr. Munger. With the latter was printed an account of the society, written in 1879 by the clerk, Henry E. Pardee. Mr. Pardee also made extracts (unprinted) from the records of the First Church which pertained to the White Haven Church, and for all the churches from the Land Records of New Haven. An address made at the 100th anniversary of the dedication of the present building, by Simeon E. Baldwin, was published, with addresses by Mr. Denison on Dr. Munger, and by Mr. Lewis S. Welch on Mr. Haynes.

On the lives of individuals a Memoir of Jonathan Edwards, Jr., is prefixed to the edition of his published Works (1842), and

the Funeral Sermon by the Rev. Robert Smith is printed in the Appendix to the first volume. There is also a manuscript address by Simeon E. Baldwin, made at the time of the unveiling of the Edwards tablet in the church. Memorial Discourses were prepared by Dr. Leonard Bacon on the lives of Mr. Dutton and Mr. Cleaveland. An extended biography of Dr. Munger was written by Dr. Benjamin W. Bacon, and a memorial address on Mr. Haynes by Prof. Henry C. Emery. There is also information on the ministers in Sprague, *History of the American Pulpit*; in the *Dictionary of American Biography*; in Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College*; in the *Yale Obituary Records*. For laymen there are biographies of Roger Sherman by L. H. Boutell and R. S. Boardman; the *Life and Letters of Simeon Baldwin* by S. E. Baldwin; accounts of individuals in publications of patriotic societies, in family histories, in the *Yale Biographies and Records*; obituary notices in pamphlets, newspapers, and magazines; and scattered references in more general works. An example is the information about Nathan Beers, Sr., and David Wooster in Wilcockson, *History of Stratford*.

For general information the following works are important: Leonard Bacon, *Thirteen Historical Discourses*; Albert E. Dunning, *Congregationalists in America*; M. Louise Greene, *Development of Religious Liberty in Connecticut*; Williston Walker, *History of the Congregational Churches in the United States*; Richard J. Purcell, *Connecticut in Transition*; Jarvis Means Morse, *A Neglected Period of Connecticut History*; and on revivals, The Great Awakening in the series of pamphlets published by the Connecticut Tercentenary Commission, which also gives a bibliography on that subject.

For local history, the principal works used were: *The History of the City of New Haven*, edited by Edward E. Atwater; John W. Barber and Lemuel S. Punderson, *History and Antiquities of New Haven*; Henry T. Blake, *Chronicles of the New Haven Green*; Franklin B. Dexter, *Historical Papers*; Henry Peck, *History of the State House*; Charles H. Townsend, *The British Invasion of New Haven*; Robert A. Warner, *New Haven Negroes*; Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society; histories of various churches of New Haven, especially the Church of the Redeemer and Plymouth Church.

APPENDIX

SEPARATIONS AND UNIONS

White Haven Church, 1742–1796, formed after separation from the First Church.
Fair Haven Church, 1769–1796, formed after separation from the White Haven Church.

Church of Christ in the United Societies (North Church), 1796–1884, formed by union of the White Haven and Fair Haven Churches.

Third Church, 1826–1884, formed after separation from the First and North Churches.

United Church, 1884–, formed by union of the North and Third Churches.

MINISTERS

White Haven Church

JOHN CURTISS—1749–1751 (not installed)

SAMUEL BIRD—1751–1768

JONATHAN EDWARDS—1769–1795

Fair Haven Church

ALLYN MATHER—1773–1784

SAMUEL AUSTIN—1787–1790

HENDRICUS DOW—1790–1792 (not installed)

North Church

JOHN GEMMIL—1798–1801

SAMUEL MERWIN—1805–1831

LEICESTER A. SAWYER—1835–1837

SAMUEL W. S. DUTTON—1838–1866

EDWARD L. CLARK—1867–1872

EDWARD A. HAWES—1873–1884

Third Church

CHARLES A. BOARDMAN—1830–1832

ELISHA LORD CLEAVELAND—1833–1866

DANIEL S. GREGORY—1867–1869

DAVID MURDOCH—1869–1874

STEPHEN R. DENNEN—1875–1884

United Church

THEODORE T. MUNGER—1885–1900

ARTEMAS J. HAYNES—1902–1908 (not installed)

ROBERT C. DENISON—1909–1920

EDWARD A. GEORGE, Minister-in-Charge—1920–1921

SAMUEL C. BUSHNELL, Acting Minister—1921–1923

RICHARD H. CLAPP—1923–

ASSISTANTS TO THE MINISTER

- Rev. James Bixler, 1887-1888, Assistant Minister
 Rev. Fred B. Richards, 1890-1891, Assistant Minister
 Rev. Harry R. Miles, 1891-1893; 1894-1896, Assistant Minister
 Rev. Frederick Lynch, 1896-1898, Assistant Minister
 Rev. Arthur E. Fraser, 1898-1899, Assistant Minister
 Rev. John Pitt Deane, 1899-1901, May-October, 1901, Acting Minister
 Miss Frances S. Walkley, 1900-1904, Sunday School Worker
 Prof. John W. Wetzel, 1901-1902, Assistant Minister
 Rev. Frederick T. Persons, 1902-1904, Assistant Minister
 Mrs. Charles Cutting, 1904-1910, Sunday School Worker; 1910-1917, Pastor's Assistant
 Rev. Wilfred A. Rowell, 1904-1907, Assistant Minister
 Rev. Herbert J. Wyckoff, 1907-1908; 1908-1909, Acting Minister
 Mrs. Clara M. King, 1910-1911, Secretary
 Miss Olive M. Cogswell, 1911-1913, Secretary
 Rev. Van Ogden Vogt, 1910-1911, Pastor's Assistant
 Rev. Henry A. Arnold, 1912-1913, Pastor's Assistant
 Albert R. Klemer, 1913-1914, Pastor's Assistant
 Rev. Charles R. Brown, 1913-1914, Associate Preacher
 Rev. John J. McClelland, 1914-1915, Assistant Minister
 Rev. Benjamin J. Winchester, 1915-1917, Director of Religious Education
 Mrs. R. P. Dougherty, 1915-1917, Secretary
 Miss Beth Chandler, 1917-1920, Secretary; Pastor's Assistant to June, 1921
 Miss Mabel V. Carpenter, 1920-1924, Secretary
 Rev. J. S. Hurlburt, 1919-1920, Assistant Minister
 Rev. H. Shelton Smith, 1921-1923, Director of Religious Education
 Mrs. H. Shelton Smith, 1922-1924, Young People's Worker
 Rev. Milton S. Czatt, 1923-1926, Associate Pastor
 Miss Ruth Herman, 1924-1934, Executive Secretary, and Young People's Worker
 Rev. Robert E. Calhoun, 1926-1928, Director of Religious Education
 Rev. Harold B. Hunting, 1928-1934, Director of Religious Education
 Rev. Hughbert H. Landram, 1934-, Director of Religious Education and Assistant Minister
 Mrs. Frances I. Whiteman, 1934-, Office Secretary

DEACONS

White Haven Church

- Isaac Dickerman—1754-1758
 Joseph Ruggles—1754-1758
 Daniel Lyman—1758-1786
 David Austin—1758-1796
 Samuel Bishop—1760-1796

Fair Haven Church

- James Gilbert—1773-1796
 Abraham Augur—1773-1796
 Levi Ives—1787-1796

North Church

David Austin—1796-1801	Abiel H. Maltby—1842-1853
Samuel Bishop—1796-1803	Benjamin Higby—1847-1850
James Gilbert—1796-1797	John Durrie—1847-1857
Abraham Augur—1796-1798	Atwater Treat—1850-1882
Levi Ives—1796-1826	Harvey S. Hall—1853-1858
Abel Burritt—1801-1828	Sherman W. Knevals—1853-1863
Nathan Beers—1804-1849	Lemuel S. Punderson—1858-1884
William Austin—1814-1833	Lucius W. Fitch—1867-1884
Charles Bostwick—1814-1850	Henry N. Day—1868-1884
William S. Jarman—1826-1847	Charles L. Ives—1868-1876
Edward Porter—1827-1828	Richard E. Rice—1873-1884
Sherman Blair—1834-1838	Albert S. Holt—1876-1884
Amasa Porter—1834-1842	Walter B. Law—1876-1884
Nathaniel Jocelyn—1834-1881	William J. Weld—1881-1884
Isaac Thomson—1834-1873	John A. Richardson—1881-1884
John Merriman—1842-1846	

Third Church

Timothy Dwight—1828-1836	Hiram Stevens—1865-1884
James E. P. Dean—1828-1837	Edwin B. Bowditch—1865-1884
Samuel P. Davis—1831-1849	Lyman Osborn—1865-1884
Isaac Mix—1836-1838	Edward C. Beecher—1867-1884
Cyprian Willcox—1837-1875	William S. Hurd—1867-1870
David Breed—1838-1845	Henry W. Thomson—1867-1884
Timothy Lester—1845-1858	William Franklin—1867-1884
John Merriman—1845-1854	Ralph J. Miner—1867-1884
George King—1854-1867	Frederick W. Hill, 1876-
Benjamin Smith—1857-1865	Newton W. Perkins—1878-1884
Samuel G. Thorne—1857-1884	

United Church

Samuel G. Thorne—1884-1887	William J. Weld—1886-1928
Henry W. Thomson—1884-1895	Andrew H. Smith—1888-1912
Hiram Stevens—1884-1886	Samuel D. Gilbert—1888-1910
Newton W. Perkins—1884-1902	Charles E. P. Sanford—1896-1931
Albert S. Holt—1884-1934	Frederick E. Hartshorn—1898-1930
Walter B. Law—1884-1922	Henry M. Osborn—1899-1902
Starr H. Barnum—1884-1898	Alfred B. Miller—1902-1913
Lemuel S. Punderson—1884-1904	Charles J. Foote—1903-1921; 1923-1926
Richard E. Rice—1886-1897	Walter O. Whitcomb—1903-1912
Ralph J. Miner—1886-1917	Moses Lewis—1904-1926
John A. Richardson—1886-1902	

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| John H. Thompson—1911-1914 | George B. Lovell—1927-1933 |
| Walter R. Downs—1913-1925; 1929-1935 | 1934-1940 |
| Livingston W. Cleaveland—1913-1923 | 1941- |
| 1925-1929 | Sydney K. Mitchell—1927-1933 |
| Charles J. Bartlett—1914-1923 | 1934-1937 |
| 1930-1936 | LeGrand Cannon—1928-1935 |
| Alfred J. Wakeman—1914-1926 | Ralph L. Cheney—1929-1935 |
| 1935-1941 | 1936-1941 |
| 1942- | John C. Tracy—1931-1937 |
| Lewis S. Welch—1918-1921 | William E. Hilliard—1931-1936 |
| Walter O. Filley—1921-1927 | 1937- |
| 1929-1937 | Willard A. Sanford—1932-1936 |
| 1938- | H. LeRoy Baumgartner—1933-1939 |
| James Fulton Ferguson—1921-1927 | Louis F. Wheatley—1935-1941 |
| William A. Watts—1922-1923 | LeGrand Cannon, Jr.—1936-1942 |
| Clarence W. Bronson—1923-1929 | LeRoy M. Hildreth; 1936-1942 |
| Richard S. Kirby—1923-1928 | W. Gordon Brown—1937- |
| William J. McCance—1925-1931 | G. Harold Welch—1937- |
| 1932-1938 | Frederick R. Bastian—1939- |
| Carlton T. Bishop—1926-1932 | William J. Cleaver—1939- |
| 1933-1939 | Charles L. Kirschner—1941- |
| 1940- | John L. McCurdy—1941- |
| James M. Groves—1926-1932 | C. Bronson Weed—1942- |

CLERKS OF THE SOCIETY

White Haven Society

- James Pierpont—1749-1756
 Samuel Bird—1756-1759
 Samuel Bishop—1759-1796

Fair Haven Society

- Jonathan Osborn—1769-1773
 Joel Gilbert—1773-1774
 Henry Daggett—1774-1788
 Elizur Goodrich—1788-1796

United Society

- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Samuel Bishop—1796-1801 | Henry E. Pardee—1875-1884 |
| Elisha Munson—1801-1841 | Sherman Foote—1884-1885 |
| Edward C. Herrick—1841-1855 | Richard E. Rice—1885-1897 |
| Francis T. Jarman—1855-1861 | Charles E. P. Sanford—1897-1931 |
| Lucius W. Fitch—1861-1872 | Carlton T. Bishop—1931- |
| John A. Richardson—1872-1875 | |

CLERKS OF THE CHURCH

Originally and for many years the ministers acted as clerks of the church. If there was no minister a deacon usually acted in that capacity *pro tempore*.

North Church

Lemuel S. Punderson—1866-1880
Richard E. Rice—1880-1884

Third Church

Edwin B. Bowditch—1866-1874
David Murdoch—1874-1875
Henry W. Thomson—1875-1884

United Church

Richard E. Rice—1884-1895
Charles E. P. Sanford—1895-1924
Carlton T. Bishop—1924-

TREASURERS OF THE SOCIETY

White Haven Society

James Pierpont—1752-1756
Samuel Bird—1756-1765
John Mix—1765-1782
David Austin—1783-1786
Timothy Jones—1786-1794

Fair Haven Society

In early years had a committee to care for "prudentials" and collectors
Henry Daggett—1782-1784

United Society

Henry Daggett—1796-1801
Timothy Dwight—1817-1818
John Fitch—1818-1822
Roger S. Skinner—1822-1826
Henry E. Peck—1826-1831
Isaac H. Townsend—1831-1835
William B. Bristol—1835-1847
William Johnson—1847-1853
Jeremiah A. Bishop—1853-1858
Nathan Peck—1858-1867
William Moulthrop—1857-1872

Wells Southworth—1872-1874
Sidney M. Stone—1874-1875
George W. Curtis—1875-1909
Frederick E. Hartshorn—1909-1916
Walter R. Downs—1916-1920
Warren Crawford—1920-1923
Henry E. Sanford—1923-1926
Elmer E. Smith—1926-1928
William J. McCance—1928-1932
Horace Dickerman—1932
C. Bronson Weed—1932

TREASURERS OF THE CHURCH

White Haven Church

James Pierpont—

*Fair Haven Church**North Church*

William S. Jarman—1833-1847
 A. H. Maltby—1847-1853
 John Durrie—1853-1857
 Atwater Treat—1857-1881
 Richard E. Rice—1881-1884

Third Church

Benevolences :
 Samuel G. Thorne—1866-1869
 Henry W. Thomson—1869-1877
 Starr H. Barnum—1877-
 Fund :
 Cyprian Willcox—1866-1873
 Hiram Stevens—1873-1884

United Church

Richard E. Rice—1884-1897
 Walter B. Law—1897-1922
 Frederick E. Hartshorn—1923-1926

Clarence W. Bronson—1926-1935
 C. Bronson Weed—1935-

Treasurers of Contributions

F. T. Jarman—1884-1892
 Charles E. P. Sanford—1892-1913
 Moses H. Lewis—1913-1920
 William W. Woodruff—1920-1921
 Warren M. Crawford—1921-1923
 Henry E. Sanford—1923-1926

Elmer E. Smith—1926-1928
 William J. McCance—1928-1932
 Horace Dickerman—1932
 C. Bronson Weed—1932-1935
 Two treasuries were merged in 1935

Assistant Treasurer

Sheldon G. Stirling—1936-

MISSIONARIES

Members of the church commissioned as foreign missionaries, with their term of service.

Rev. Andrew Tully Pratt—missionary in Turkey, 1852-1872
 Sarah Goodyear Pratt (A. T.)—missionary in Turkey—1852-1872
 Rev. William P. Sprague—missionary in China, 1874-1910
 Margaret Henderson Sprague (W. P.)—missionary in China, 1874-1891
 Rev. Robert Allen Hume—missionary in India, 1874-1926
 Abbie Lyon Burgess Hume (R. A.)—missionary in India, 1874-1881

Katie *Fairbanks* Hume (R. A.)—missionary in India, 1882-1926
 Ruth Peabody Hume—missionary in India, 1903-1940
 Rev. Robert Earnest Hume—missionary in India, 1907-1914
 Laura *Castwell* Hume (R. E.)—missionary in India, 1907-1914
 Hannah *Hume* Lee (Theodore)—missionary in India, 1903-1911
 Hannah *Hume* Lee Calder (John)—missionary in India, 1912-1920
 Rev. William H. McCance—missionary in India, 1921-1930
 Mary *Sargent* McCance (W. H.)—missionary in India, 1921-1930
 Mildred *Street* Hatch (Ira A.)—missionary in India, 1928-1940

Members working as foreign missionaries, but not commissioned.

Helen M. Spencer—in Turkey, 1857-1872
 Sarah J. Hume—in India, 1882-1887

Missionaries at some time connected with the church.

Hiram Bingham—missionary in the Sandwich Islands, 1819-1841
 Lydia Bingham Coan—missionary in the Sandwich Islands, 1851
 Hannah *Sackett* Hume (R. W.)—missionary in India, 1839-1854
 Mary *Skinner* Marsh (S. D.)—missionary in Zululand, 1847-1853
 Clara Davis Loomis—missionary in Japan, 1901-1940

Members working in allied fields.

Abbie P. Ferguson—Huguenot College, Wellington, South Africa, 1873-1919
 Mary Emma Landfear—Huguenot College, Wellington, South Africa, 1875-1895
 Mary B. Kifer—Near East Relief, 1919
 Wilson McLaughry Hume, Y. M. C. A. in India, 1914-
 Rev. Robert C. Denison—Red Cross in Albania and Serbia, 1918-1919

NAMES OF FUNDS OF THE UNITED CHURCH AND SOCIETY

Simeon E. Baldwin Fund
 Bennett Fund
 Bishop Fund
 Emma F. G. Bigelow Fund
 Wilson Booth Fund
 James Brewster Fund
 Annie J. Bright Fund
 Sarah Sophia Bronson Fund
 Bunce Fund
 Canada Fund
 Sarah E. Champion Fund
 Chapel Fund

Alice P. Cochran Fund
 Church Edifice Repair Fund
 Dixwell Avenue Mission Fund
 Dorcas Fund
 Emergency Fund
 Endowment Fund
 Willard F. Ensign Fund
 Amelia Foote Fund
 Ellsworth I. Foote Fund
 Mary Hotten Foote Fund
 General Fund
 Gilbert Fund

Lucy P. Hand Fund	Edwin H. Lockwood Fund
Henry-Etta I. Hoadley Fund for the benefit of worthy and needy mem- bers of the Society	Nicholson Fund
Henry-Etta I. Hoadley Reserve Fund	North Church Fund
Hume Coal Fund	Phelps Fund
Bessie W. Ives Fund	Platt Fund
Jarman Fund	Margaret Shelley Fund
Leavenworth Fund	Skinner Fund
Leavenworth Fund for the United Church	Smith Fund
	Sarah Townsend Fund
	United Church Fund
	Wissert Fund

INDEX

- Act for Regulating Abuses, 16
 - of Toleration, 2, 4, 12, 16, 17
- Adult Study Class, 81
- Ahmednagar, 87, 92
- Amistad case, 96, 97, 183
- Arrest of members, 19
- Articles of Administration, see Saybrook Platform
 - of Agreement, 1749, 17, 18
 - of Complaint, 1741, 12
- Association, General, 30
 - Male Missionary, 56
 - Ministers, 1, 3, 14, 31
 - Missionary, in Sunday School, 76
 - Young Men's, 57, 58
- Athletics, 60, 66
- Auditor, 113
- Austin, David, Jr., 106, 161, 171, 227, 228
 - Lieutenant David, 227
 - Rev. Samuel, 26, 159, 168-170
- Awakening, Great, 9, 10
 - Second Great, 34, 51
- Baldwin, Ebenezer, 151, 242
 - Roger Sherman, 96, 97, 183, 243
 - Simeon, 116, 117, 139, 141, 165, 237, 240-243, 247, 256
 - Simeon Eben, 102, 165, 256, 267, 268
- Baptism, 4, 5
- Beecher, Henry Ward, 98
 - Lyman, 34, 49, 94
- Beers, family, 236
 - Hannah, 234
 - Nathan, 230, 245
 - Nathan, Jr., 116, 245-247
 - Timothy Phelps, 247
- Bellamy, Rev. Joseph, 11, 16, 26, 144, 146, 153
- Benevolences, 82, 123, 124, see Contributions
- Bingham, Hiram, 85
- Bird, Rev. Samuel, 18-21, 23-25, 31, 50, 107, 146-150, 155, 216
- Bishop, Abraham, 172, 236
 - Samuel, Jr., 106, 107, 229-230
 - Timothy, 239
- Blair, Sherman, 238, 249
- Boardman, Rev. Charles A., 38
- Bostwick, Charles, 238, 249
 - Charles, Jr., 37, 38
- Bowditch, Edwin B., 138, 225
- Boys, Brigade, 60
 - Clubs, 60
 - Scouts, 60
- Bradley, Harvey, 37, 38
 - Phineas, 223
- Breed, David, 84
- Brewster, James, 239, 248, 251, 252
- Brethren, 6, 101, 109
- British blockade, 132
 - invasion, 31, 127, 231
- Brother's Meeting for Prayer and Exhortation, 56
- Brown, Rev. Charles R., 105
 - David R., 135
- Budget, 122
- Buildings, 125
- Bushnell, Rev. Horace, 51, 68, 157, 196, 197, 203
 - Rev. Samuel Clarke, 214
- Calder, Hannah Hume Lee, 89
- Calhoun, Rev. Robert L., 76
- Case, Amistad, 96, 183
 - Rev. Benajah, 144, 146
- Center Church, 34, 37, 38, 41, 59, 71, 73, 74, 76, 189, 200, see First Church
- Champion, Mrs. Henry E., 64, 102
- Chapel, 78, 140, 141
 - Fund, 140
- Christian Nurture, 51, 197, 268, see Horace Bushnell

- Church and society, 7, 19, 113
 and state, 3
 and town, 7
 as a working body, 100 ff
 committee, 106
 established, vii, 1
 fellowship, 175
 finances, 113 ff
 names, 15, 29
 reports, 104
 services, 30
 suppers, 64
 taxation, 1, 2
 women in, 101 ff
- Church of Christ in the United Soci-
 eties of White Haven and Fair
 Haven, 29
 in the United Society, 29
- Circle of Industry, 67
- Clap, Rector, 10, 16, 21, 147
- Clapp, Rev. Richard H., 214, 269
- Clark, Rev. Edward L., 78, 140, 184
- Cleaveland, Rev. Elisha Lord, 38-42,
 188-191
 John, 16, 143, 144, 188
 Livingston W., 69, 96, 258
- Clerk, church, 100, 107, 113, 276
 lists of, 275, 276
 society, 18, 113, 275
- Coan, Lydia Bingham, 85
- Colored people, 221
- Committee, Church, 106
 Executive, 106
 Fellowship, 108
 Judicial, 108, 109
 Prudential, 113
 standing, 107, 112
 Visiting, 108
- Communion, 4, 32, 110
- Consociation, 1, 3, 13, 31
- Contractors for building, 130
- Contributions, vii, 81, 82, 115
- Conversion, 5, 10, 51, 74, 145, 153, 187,
 195, 219, 247, 249, 250
- Cooke, Rev. Samuel, 9, 14, 22
 Samuel, Jr., 14, 19, 20, 25, 107,
 220, 224, 225
- Councils of Churches and Ministers,
 14, 24, 31
 dismissing, 162
 on union, 1884, 44, 45
 ordaining, 154, 193
- County Court, 1, 14, 16
- Covenant, church, 7, 14, 266
 Half Way, 4-6, 26, 48, 154, 166,
 169
- Creed, 207, 266-269
- Curtis, George W., 259
 Mrs. George W., 80, 259
- Cutting, Mrs. Charles, 75
- Czatt, Rev. Milton Stacey, 76
- Daggett, David, 116, 172, 237, 240, 247
 Henry, 236, 243
- Davenport, Rev. James, 11, 12
- Deaconesses, 101, 102
- Deacons, 100, 106, 255
 Board of, 105, 106
 Honorary, 258, 263
 list of, 273-275
- Dean, Ellen, 37
 James, 37, 71
- Denison, Rev. Robert C., 76, 209-212,
 269
- Dennen, Rev. Stephen R., 43, 44, 52,
 191
- Dickerman, Elizabeth, 61, 227, 234
 Isaac, 15, 105, 141, 226, 227
- Directors of Religious Education, 76
- Discipline, 5, 109, 160
- Disestablishment, 48, 70
- Dissension, 11, 24, 26, 28, 154
- Dissenters, sober, 2, 14
- Divinity, 35, 39, 41, 155, 156, 169, 242
- Dixwell Avenue Fund, 79
 Mission, 79
- Doctrine, 20, 35, 39, 40, 42, 89, 155,
 156, 167, 182, 199, 215, 216, 267
- Dorcas Fund, 63
 House, 62
 Society, 62, 63
- Dow, Hendricus, 28
- Downs, Walter R., 69, 75, 77
 Mrs. Charles, 84

- Dutton, Mary, 99
 Rev. Samuel, 47, 98, 140, 179-184
 Dwight, Timothy, President, 199
 Timothy, Jr., 36-38, 40, 41, 50, 73

 Ecclesiastical system, 1, 2, 11
 tax, see tax
 Edwards, Mary Porter, 164
 Mercy Sabin, 164
 Pierpont, 172, 236
 Rev. Jonathan, Jr., 24, 28, 32, 111,
 151-165, 199
 Elliott, Matthew G., 138, 253, 254
 Envelope system, 115, 121, 123
 Established Church, vii, 1
 Every Member Canvass, 123
 Excommunications, 96, 111, 112
 Exemptions from tax, 2
 Expenses, annual, 107, 108, 117, 123

 Fair Haven Church, 25
 Building, 26
 dates, 1
 Half Way Covenant in, 5
 Fair Haven Society, 25
 Female Cent Society, 81
 Charitable Society, 62
 Ferguson, Abby, 91
 Finances, see church
 Finley, Rev. Samuel J., 145, 146, 153
 First Church, 9, 13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 20,
 23, 57, 126, 127, 129, 144, 218,
 219, 226, see Center Church
 Society, 12, 22, 218, 232
 Foster, Eleazar, 132, 247
 Funds, 48, 116, 117, 124, 278, 279
 list of, 278, 279

 Gemmil, Rev. John, 171
 General Assembly of Conn., 1, 16-18,
 20, 22, 23, 30, 61
 George, Rev. Edward A., 212
 Gilbert, James, 233
 Samuel, 218
 Graham, Rev. John, 144, 146
 Greenough, William, 142, 231, 232
 Gregory, Rev. Daniel, 43, 52, 191

 Guild, United Church, 66
 Young Women's, 66

 Hartshorn, Frederick E., 259, 260
 Hatch, Mildred Street, 92, 93
 Hawes, Rev. Edward A., 44, 46, 52,
 140, 185-188
 Haynes, Rev. Artemas J., 48, 52, 54,
 204-209, 268
 Heat in church, 134
 Herrick, Edward C., 248
 Rev. Claudius, 239, 247
 Hildreth, LeRoy M., 136
 Hoadley, David, 131
 Holt, Albert S., 67, 259, 263
 Hopkins, Grammar School, 181, 222,
 224, 229
 Samuel, 10, 11
 Hume, Abbie Burgess, 87
 Bella, 84
 Edward S., 87
 Hannah (Mrs. R. W.), 86, 87, 91
 Laura Caswell, 89
 Robert A., 80, 86, 87-89, 92, 141
 Robert E., 89
 Ruth P., 89
 Sarah J., 80, 86, 89-90, 141
 Wilson McC., 89
 Hunting, Rev. Harold B., 76

 Indians, members, 217
 missions to, 83
 Infidelity, 49
 Itinerants, 11, 12
 Ives, Eli, 245
 Levi, 244, 245

 Jarman, Francis T., 73
 William S., 236, 238, 249
 Jocelyn, Nathaniel, 71, 97, 183, 239,
 250, 251, 253
 Simeon, 27, 50, 71, 96, 97, 183, 251
 Johnson, Ebenezer, Jr., 131, 132
 Rev. Samuel, 11
 Jones, Timothy, 9, 17, 21, 228
 Timothy, Jr., 228, 229
 Judicial Committee, 108, 109 ff

- Kansas Rifle Meeting, 98, 99
 Kifer, Mary B., 92
 Kimberley, Dennis, 254
 Knevals, Sherman, 56, 135, 239, 250

 Ladies Aid Society, 65, 108
 Benevolent Society, 63, 64
 Home Missionary Association, 66
 Society, 64
 prayer meeting, 61
 Sewing Circle, 67
 Landfear, Mary Emma, 91, 92
 Landram, Rev. Hughbert H., 76, 136
 Law, Walter B., 67, 259
 Laymen, 215, 216
 Lee, Jesse, 159, 229
 Lindwall, Gustav J., 71, 136
 Lines, Charles B., 56, 98, 239, 252, 253
 Edward S., 253
 Loani Circle, 66
 Lyman, Daniel, 22, 106, 233

 Male Missionary Association, 56
 Marsh, Mary Skinner, 90, 91
 Mather, Rev. Allyn, 26, 31, 50, 83,
 166-168, 216
 McCance, Rev. William H., 87, 92
 Mary Sargent, 87, 92
 Meeting House, 125 ff
 Fair Haven, 26, 127
 First Church, 19
 Third Church, 38, 40-42, 136-
 138
 United Church, 128 ff
 White Haven Church, 17, 125
 Meetings, annual, 30, 104
 Membership, character of, 216-221,
 234-238, 255
 dual, 5, 6
 importance of, viii, 215
 Memorial of 1741, 11
 Men's Bible Class, 80
 Club, 58-60
 Merwin, Miranda, 178
 Rev. Samuel, 48-50, 53, 81, 85, 94,
 139, 173-178
 Rev. S. J. M., 45, 178
 Mrs. S. J. M., 178

 Miller, Katharine Hume, 86, 90
 Mills, Rev. Jedediah, 144, 146
 Minister, Assistant, 105, 273, list of,
 273
 attempts to get one, 17, 143
 Colleague, 19, 24, 105, 148
 list of, 272
 Ministry, 4, 163, 212
 Missionaries, list, 277, 278
 Missions, City, 80
 Dixwell Avenue, 79, 141
 Foreign, 84 ff, 201
 Home, 83, 84
 Olivet, 58, 75, 80, 141
 to Indians, 83
 Mix, Isaac, 37, 38
 Joseph, 107, 218
 Timothy, 233
 Montgomery, Mrs. Emily Redington,
 92
 Moody and Sankey, 52, 187
 Munger, Rose M., 85, 93
 Rev. Theodore T., 35, 52, 54, 68,
 92, 104, 105, 140, 178, 193 ff, 209
 Mrs. T. T., 77, 203
 Municipal Church, 60, 73, 79, 202
 Munson, Amos, 11
 Stephen, 233
 Murdoch, David, 43, 191

 Nettleton, Asahel, 34, 49-51
 New Divinity, 41, 155, 160, 166, 169,
 171, 181, 228
 New Haven Union Sabbath School, 71
 New Lights, viii, 9, 15, 16, 19-22, 143,
 146, 147, 226
 New Years prayer meeting, 55
 North, John G., 77, 79, 98, 253
 North Church, 1, 29, 43, 44, 45, 53, 54
 Mission School, 79
 Sabbath School, 73
 Noyes, Rev. Joseph, 9, 11, 12, 19-23,
 31

 Old Lights, viii, 9, 16, 17, 19, 146, 148,
 220
 Organ, 135
 Orphan Asylum, 75

- Pardee, Henry E., 263
 Parish House, see chapel
 geographical, 1, 23
 poll, 23
 relief, 124
 work, 163, 164, 182, 201
 Parishioners, 4
 Parsonages, 139, 149, 164
 Pastor, Assistant, 79, 105
 Colleague, 19, 24
 Council, 106
 Emeritus, 209
 secretary, 105
 Periods in church history, vii, viii, 33,
 47, 170, 235
 Petition to County Court, 14, 16
 Pews, church ownership, 121 ff
 free, 124
 negro, 127
 private ownership, 118 ff
 purchase, 122 ff
 Phelps, Catherine St. John, 140
 Pierpont, Rev. James, 9, 13
 James, 9, 14, 16, 18, 107, 221-223
 Pleasant Sunday Afternoon Class, 75,
 77, 78
 Politics, vii, 13, 19, 21, 23, 49
 Pratt, Rev. Andrew T., 90
 Sarah Goodyear, 90
 Prayer meetings, church, 53-55
 men's, 56
 women's, 61
 young peoples, 67, 68
 Preaching, 30, 47, 269
 Prout, John, 25, 220, 223, 224
 Prudential Committee, 113, 226
 Pulpit, 127, 135
 Punderson, Lemuel S., 248

 Read, Daniel, 116, 135, 238
 Reforms, 52, 175
 Religion and science, 199
 Revival of 1735, 9
 1740, 9, 49-52, 74, 175, 195, 207
 second period, vii, 34, 49, 51, 52,
 75, 175, 195, 207, 219
 numbers added by, 50, 52
 Moody and Sankey, 52, 187

 Rice, Richard E., 259
 Richards, F. B., 105, 141
 Richardson, John A., 259, 264
 Robbins, Rev. Philemon, 16, 144, 146
 Romish priest, 127
 Russell, R. G., 140

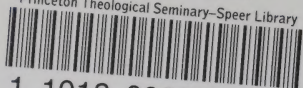
 Sacramental lecture, 30, 32, 54
 Sanford, C. E. P., 67, 68, 259, 260-263
 Sawyer, Rev. Leicester A., 50, 179
 Saybrook Platform, 2-4, 13, 15, 31, 48
 Separatist Church, 14, 15
 Seymour, George Dudley, 136
 Sherman, family, 236
 Roger, 28, 158, 162, 163, 232
 Roger, Jr., 243
 Silver, 141
 Sisters, 6, 53, 101, 224
 Skinner, John, 236, 241, 243
 Slavery, 96, 98, 163, 183
 Slaves, owned by members, 149, 221
 Slave trade, sermon on, 30
 Smith, Rev. H. Shelton, 76
 Smythe, Rev. Newman, 45, 46, 200
 Society and church, 7
 for the Relief of Indigent Female
 Professors of Religion, 62
 Dorcas, 62
 Fair Haven, 25
 Female Cent, 81
 Charitable, 62
 Ladies Aid, 65
 Benevolent, 63
 White Haven, 17, 18, 22
 women in, 60
 Spencer, Helen M., 90
 Sprague, Rev. William, 91
 Sproat, Rev. James, 145, 151
 Standing Order, 3, 239, 240
 Stilwell, Elias, 248
 Stone, Sidney M., 134, 135, 138, 251,
 252
 Street, Titus, 253
 Stuart, Rev. Moses, 34, 48, 175
 Sunday School, 70-77, 250
 workers, 75-76

- Talmadge, James, 107, 225
 Tax, ecclesiastical, vii, 1, 2, 19, 114, 115, 117 ff
 Taylor, Rev. Nathaniel W., 34-36, 38, 41, 49, 50, 181, 188, 199
 Temperance, 94-96, 175, 252
 Tennent, Rev. Gilbert, 10, 11, 16, 145
 Theology, viii, 20, 35, 39, 46, 47, 48, 89, 155, 156, 167, 181, 182, 189, 193, 198-200, 207, 215, 268
 Third Church, 1, 34, 36, 38, 43, 44, 54
 mission, 75, 80
 meeting houses, 38, 40-43
 Sunday School, 74, 75, 80
 Thomson, Annie, 84
 Henry W., 84
 Thorne, Samuel G., 45, 68, 255
 Thrall, Rev. Herbert, 84
 Tolerated Church, 15
 Toleration, Act of, see Act
 Townsend, Amos, Jr., 36, 73
 Ebenezer, Jr., 36
 Isaac H., 237, 241
 Treasurer, 100, 107, 113, 276, 277
 lists of, 276, 277
 Treat, Atwater, 43, 79, 84, 85, 120, 239, 249, 250
 Trials, 110 ff
 Tutors preaching, 26, 28, 151
 ministers, 181, 222, 224
 Tuttle, Enos, 25, 166
 Ruth, 61, 234
 Underground Railway, 184
 Union of White Haven and Fair Haven churches, 29
 Third and North churches, 29, 34, 43, 44, 255
 meetings, 31, 32
 Sunday School, 71, 73, 74
 United Church, vii, 1, 44, 45
 Unity and uniformity, 8
 social, 63, 64
 Vickery, Rev. Almeda C., 71
 Visiting Committee, 108
 Voting in church meetings, 102
 society meetings, 61, 102
 Walkley, Frances, 75
 Washington, George, 158
 Watch and care, 5, 94, 95, 110
 Welch, Lewis H., 264
 Weld, William J., 67, 259, 260
 Wheelock, Rev. Eleazar, 26, 145, 146, 166
 Whitefield, Rev. George, 9, 10, 146
 White Haven Church, 1, 6, 9, 15, 22
 Society, 17, 18, 22
 Whittelsey, Rev. Chauncey, 20, 22, 29, 154
 Winchester, Rev. Benjamin F., 76
 Women in the society, 60, 61
 on committees, 102, 103
 voting, 101, 102, 103
 Women's Bible Class, 80
 League, 65, 66
 organizations, 62 ff
 prayer meetings, 61
 Wooster, David, 126, 233
 Mary Clap, 234, 236
 Young Ladies Association for Prayer, 67
 Bible Class, 66
 Gynasium Class, 66
 Mission Circle, 65, 66
 Men's Association of the United Society, 57
 Bible Class, 80
 meeting, 58
 People's Association, 68
 Class, 75
 Council, 69
 lack of, 235, 237, 238
 Literary Society, 68
 prayer meetings, 50, 54
 Society of Christian Endeavor, 68, 69
 Union, 67, 68
 Women's Guild, 66
 Gynasium class, 66

[illegible]

BX7150 .N37U5 M6
History of the United church of New

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 00020 8076